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MARY TODD LINCOLN'S BEDROOM

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SPRING 1955

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“WHAT A PLEASANT HOME ABE LINCOLN HAS”

BY RICHARD S. HAGEN

SOME fivescore and ten years have passed since Abraham Lincoln purchased in 1844 the only home he ever owned, a simple frame story-and-a-half house at the northeast corner of Eighth and Jackson streets in Springfield. He lived there for seventeen years, leaving it in 1861 for the White House.

Visitors to the Lincoln Home, which in 1887 became the first state memorial, have been allowed to see only four rooms—the sitting room, the front and back parlors and the dining room. In 1929 the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield aided the State in acquiring furniture and other essentials for a home of Lincoln's time to fit up these rooms. Preliminary reconstruction plans were drafted in the late 1930's by the State Division of Architecture and Engineering. World War II interrupted, and therefore it was not until 1950 that the Division of Parks and Memorials initiated, under the writer's direction, in co-operation with Virginia Stuart Brown,

Richard S. Hagen, archaeologist and historical consultant for the Division of Parks and Memorials of the Illinois Department of Conservation, was in charge of the recently completed work of restoring, redecorating and refurnishing the Lincoln Home. He studied at the University of Chicago and University of Puerto Rico, and previously has done archaeological work at Bishop Hill, Galena, New Salem and Starved Rock.

custodian (1925-1953) and the Lincoln Home Committee appointed by the Governor, a comprehensive program of research in connection with the Lincoln Home.

In the Winter, 1951 issue of this *Journal* the author reported his findings from archaeological work in the Lincoln back yard. Sufficient information was obtained to permit the accurate reconstruction of the carriage house, the woodshed and the privy. Presenting a claim in 1856 against the estate of Nathaniel Hay, a Springfield brick manufacturer, Lincoln wrote: "In August 1855 he furnished me bricks for the pit of a privy, for which he or his estate is entitled to a credit on the note. The exact amount of this last lot of bricks, I never knew; but I suppose the administrator can find it on Mr. Hay's books." The century-old privy now resting over this original pit in the Lincoln back yard was removed early in 1954 from behind the Oakland, Illinois, home of Dr. Hiram G. Rutherford, an early eastern Illinois physician and friend of Lincoln, and was transferred to Springfield amidst widespread "human interest" stories in the press. Restored and resplendent the past summer with a cloak of morning glories, the privy represents the first step toward the complete restoration of the back yard to its appearance of 1860.

A complete physical survey of the Home was next undertaken to ascertain what the structure itself could tell of its own story. As the various layers of paint put on the house in more than one hundred years were scraped off one by one, beneath some ten coats of white paint were revealed four (and in some places perhaps more) coats of a light brown paint, indicating that the pleasant white to which several generations of visitors were accustomed was not the color familiar to the Lincoln family. This physical survey was augmented by evidence from documentary and pictorial sources, all providing further support for a light shade of brown as the original color. Some of these documentary sources were published in the Spring, 1953 issue of this *Journal*. Photographs dating

from 1860 to 1870 all show the house of a darker color than the whitewashed board fence along Jackson Street, the white carriage house at the rear, and the small white frame cottage directly north of the Lincoln Home. In view of the overwhelming evidence brought to bear on the color problem, in late 1952 the Home was given its first coat of "a Quaker tint of light brown" in more than seventy years, an action which proved to be the most dramatic step in the restoration up to that time.

The *Chicago Tribune* of May 6, 1865 said in its description of Lincoln's funeral and Springfield in mourning:

Plain, unpretending and substantial, [the Home] is the type of Mr. Lincoln's character. The shrubbery in front of the house, principally rose bushes, many of them planted by Mr. Lincoln's own hand, are in full leaf, and a beautiful rose vine clammers up one of the door posts, and trails over the cornice. Lilies are sprinkled here and there, and closely shaven trim grass plats run down to the neat picket fence surmounting the wall. The columns of the piazza at the rear of the house are also turned with vines and creepers, and the apple tree between the house and the barns, showered the ground with the pink and white of the blossoms, and filled the air with fragrance.

The restoration of the exterior was largely completed in 1952. An addition and porch which had been built in the late nineteenth century at the back of the house for the convenience of its resident custodians was removed. The rear or eastern façade was reconstructed according to a photograph made by an itinerant cameraman, Ridgway Glover of Philadelphia, who came to Springfield in 1865, shortly after Lincoln's death, to make stereoscopic views of the President's "home and haunts." One other major change was the removal of the north window in the "maid's room," since that window does not appear in any photographs until some time after 1880.

The Lincolns had a basement only under the front part of the house, with access only through a trapdoor on the south porch. To provide space for a new automatic gas furnace and ventilating system to make the Home comfortable for visitors the year round, a ten-square-foot area was dug under the northeast corner of the back portion of the house and bricked solid with fireproof ceiling and an outside entrance. Pipes and outlets for the new system have been well concealed.

Having thus pruned and painted the exterior in such fashion that it would be recognizable to Lincoln were he to return home once again from his law office down Eighth or Jackson street, attention was next directed to the interior arrangements and furnishings. There was immediate need for extensive structural work. The brick foundation wall was crumbling; sills and joists had suffered from dry rot and termites, which though checked had left their damage; the brick hearth in the sitting room was sinking into the basement, and everywhere were cracked plaster walls and ceilings. These were repaired, since a sound structure is the only base upon which to create a lasting restoration. At the same time all parts of the original building were preserved and utilized wherever possible, enabling us to present the Lincoln Home as "restored" and not "reconstructed." In structural work in the Home original materials were left intact when possible and strengthened to a point of safety. Removed materials have been stored for future use in a "back-yard museum."

It was impossible to operate in a purist manner, since the house, built for a moderate-sized family, must now bear the traffic of nearly half a million visitors every year. Thus in the interior there are three major blights necessitated by public traffic: the guide railings (copied after the front hall stair rail) between the public areas and the restored room areas; a new door between the guest bedroom and Robert's bedroom; and the widening of the rear stairway to the kitchen

so that visitors can leave the second floor at the rear and thus permit a one-way flow of traffic through the house. Adjustment has been necessary in every room between space allotted for restoration and space for public traffic, with results as shown in the floor plans on page 10.

During the structural work careful notes were made of all evidence bearing upon physical changes in the house, with the particular aim of deriving information for as accurate a sketch as possible of the house as it appeared when Lincoln purchased it in 1844, five years after its erection. This sketch is reproduced on page 14.

In 1856 the Lincolns enlarged the house from a story and a half to two full stories. A summary of city improvements published by the *Illinois State Journal* on January 6, 1857 gives the cost of the alteration as \$1,300, with Hannan & Ragsdale as contractors. The attractive iron grill work above the side porch was installed at this time. Mrs. John T. Stuart wrote her daughter on April 3, 1856: "Mr. Lincoln has commenced raising his back building two stories high. I think they will have room enough before they are done, particularly as Mary seldom uses what she has." Mrs. Stuart's remarks tend to discredit the old story about Mary Lincoln having ordered the work done while Abraham was away, surprising him with it on his return. More likely it was discussed for some time between them as a necessity for their three sons and their own expanding social life. Mrs. Lincoln commented on the construction work in a letter to her half-sister Emily Todd on February 16, 1857: "You will think we have enlarged our borders since you were here."

As walls were removed in the rear wing and on the second floor, two kinds of lath were exposed. Split hickory was used throughout the original house built for the Rev. Charles Dresser in 1839. Lath sawed to uniform size was used in the 1856 construction. The dimensions of the original house and

the location of the later enlargements could be traced exactly. It became evident that the methods used in joining the 1856 work to the 1839 structure would dismay a good carpenter. For example, odd pieces of wood were indiscriminately nailed together for studding, showing the carpenter to have felt that work which would be covered with lath and plaster could be done in any fashion.

Tradition suffered severely in the interior just as with the exterior color. Writers spoke of Lincoln as having lived in a white house with green shutters, and described the house as being all of walnut and oak, put together with pegs and a sparing use of nails. Such errors appeared as early as 1881 when Leonard Volk, the Chicago sculptor, wrote: "The bonfires blazed brightly and especially in front of that prim-looking white house on Eighth Street." Such misstatements, once printed, were accepted without question; until recently no one had investigated the house itself for the truth so obviously there. The original floors were of random width oak, but oak was found nowhere else in the building. Walnut was used in the 1839 house for sills, joists and interior woodwork; the lath were of split hickory and the other wooden parts pine. In 1856 Hannan & Ragsdale used northern pine for everything, including the upstairs millwork which was given artificial walnut graining. Casual observation of the old pine can easily mistake it for walnut; the old discolored wood must be cut into for certain identification, but diligent scraping has yet to disclose any of the famous walnut siding. Lastly, searchers have been unable to find any use of pegs in the house except in the sills, but hundreds of square nails of many sizes have been preserved from just a few areas of recent wood replacement.

The survey showed that the first floor was always arranged as it is today, except that the present double parlor was not divided by folding doors but by a wall, so that it formed

two complete rooms, the back one probably being used as a bedroom. This is in accord with the assumption that in a story-and-a-half cottage so much space would not have been devoted to an elegant parlor. The millwork of the folding doors is probably of 1856. The front stairway existed from 1839, for in 1847, Lincoln, on leaving for Washington to serve in Congress, rented the house for one year to Cornelius Ludlum, formerly of Jacksonville, who was to "allow said Lincoln, the use of the North-up-stairs room, during the term, in which to store his furniture." This indicates a landing in the upper hall and a room on either side.

In the drawing of the Lincoln house in 1839 it will be seen that there is no sidewalk. It was not until 1853 that Lincoln, Charles Arnold, sheriff and next neighbor to the south, and others petitioned the city council "praying that certain sidewalks on the East side of Eighth street between Cook and Adams streets be graded and paved or planked as in said petition specified." The brick front wall was not built until 1850, and the brick side wall and fence date from 1855. In the rear the woodshed and privy were the only "other appurtenances of said lot" which Ludlum rented in 1847. A carriage house would have been a luxury for the Lincolns at that time, and in the one extant photograph (1865) which shows it well the carriage house is of better and probably later construction than the woodshed it adjoined.

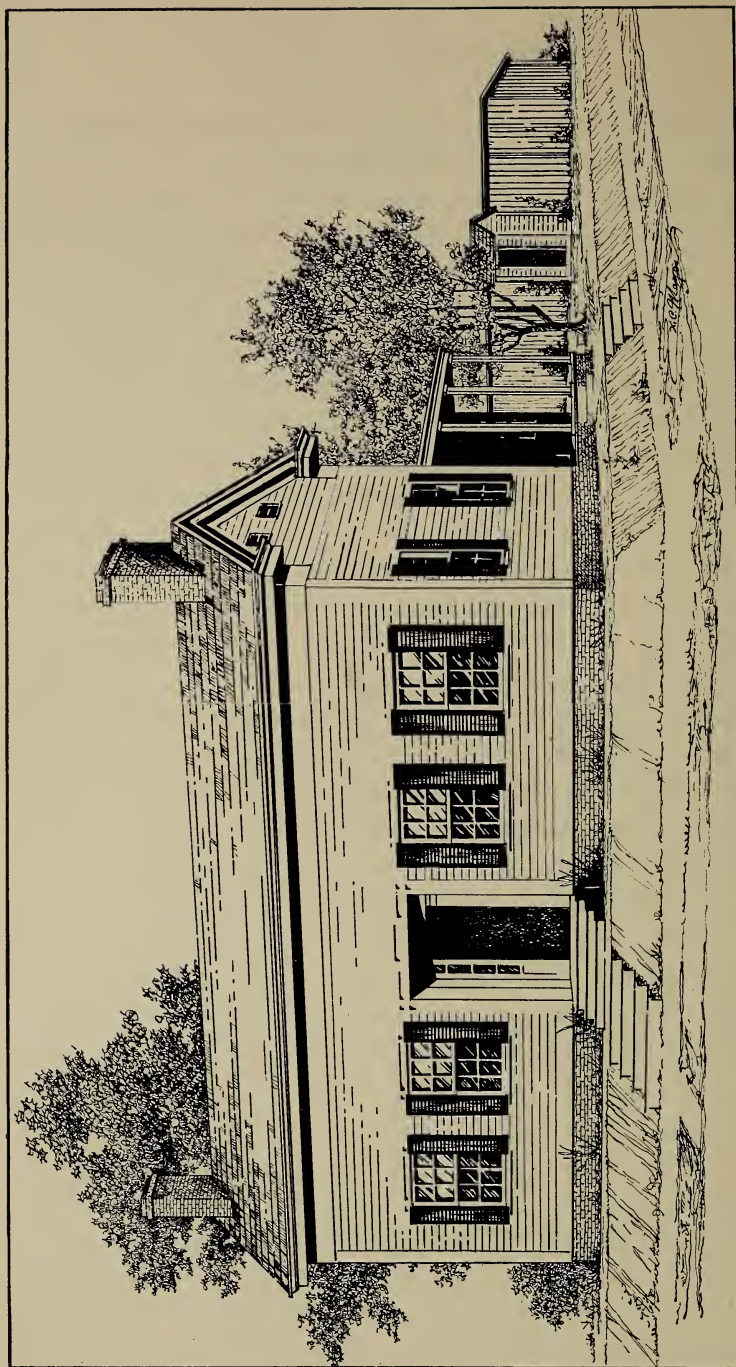
The drawing of the 1839 house shows the back part a simple flat-roofed wing, including the south porch, since the basement entrance through this porch is of the original construction. The decorative brackets on the cornice and the pilasters at the corners do not appear, and the broken cornice of 1856 has been simplified, although the latter is a typical expression of the Greek Revival tradition in the West during the 1840's. The brackets and pilasters are features which did not appear until later, and which mark the 1856 house as tran-

sitional from its earlier and purer Greek Revival appearance to the later style, sometimes called the Parvenue.

An important question was: to just what period or to what original appearance should the Lincoln Home be restored? We know that there were great physical changes in the house during the Lincolns' occupancy, and so can assume that its furnishings would certainly vary over a seventeen-year period. Since it would be manifestly impossible to restore the house to all the many facets of its appearance while Lincoln lived there, it was necessary to select an arbitrary period toward which to work. As Lincoln was responsible for its enlargement to two stories, this gives an initial date of 1856. And since the Lincolns left the house in February, 1861 we can utilize the intervening five-year period as a temporal framework. It was during these years, too, that Lincoln became so prominent a national figure.

As a matter of general policy museum activities are completely divorced from restoration activities in the house. All materials extraneous to the home life of the Lincolns have been removed and stored until they can be displayed in a future back-yard museum. The aim was to make the house appear as if the Lincolns, after thoroughly cleaning the home, had just left to visit friends. In order to achieve this, nearly two thousand different items of household equipment and furnishings have been gathered and each has been authenticated as to date and appropriateness for mid-nineteenth-century Springfield. There will be a continued effort to improve the collection.

For the interior restoration, historical sources of all kinds were meager except for sketches of the double parlors and the sitting room published in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* on March 9, 1861, and reproduced here on pages 20-22. These three rooms, it appeared initially, should be refurnished exactly as they appear in the sketches, and that is what has been attempted.



Drawing by Xavier C. Meyer, Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials

AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF THE LINCOLN HOME IN 1844

However, the sketches themselves, having been done with a good deal of artistic license as to detail and perspective, are subject to various interpretations. For example, do the vertical lines on the walls in the sketches of the parlors represent a vertically striped wallpaper, or simply the artist's shading? The decision to use a wallpaper with a vertical stripe was made because the same artist put in his sketch of the sitting room what is obviously a large floral-patterned wallpaper. Had the parlor paper also been patterned it seemed that the artist would have shown it so—particularly in the back parlor which is a severely furnished room. The sketches are also vague as to just what ornaments are displayed on the whatnots and the mantels; in the restoration appropriate antique bric-a-brac has been used to approximate the appearance of the rooms.

In Springfield of the 1850's carpeting was generally purchased in twenty-seven-inch wide strips and then sewn together for wall-to-wall coverage over a paper or straw matting. The more expensive Brussels was usually reserved for the parlor, while the cheaper ingrain or Scotch carpeting covered the dining room and bedrooms. This idea has been carried out at the Lincoln Home. The pattern for the Brussels carpet in the parlor was taken from the *Leslie's* sketch and an interior stereopticon view by Glover, and antique ingrain of many patterns has been installed in the sitting room, dining room, and five bedrooms upstairs. In the kitchen the wide oak flooring is exposed, except for a large hand-braided rug and several small "throws" which have been used as floor covering. Because of the stove heating of the period, carpeting was important; it helped, along with small footstools, to mollify the cold floors.

Few of the many documentary references to the interior of the Home mention the details we would like to have. Leonard Volk in 1881 remarked of his 1860 visit to the Lincolns: "I was invited into the parlor and soon Mrs. Lincoln entered

holding a rose bouquet in her hand, which she presented to me after the introduction; and in return I gave her a cabinet size bust of her husband, which I had modelled from the large one." This bust is visible in the *Leslie's* sketch of the front parlor, resting on the top shelf of the whatnot. The same issue of *Leslie's* says:

The sitting-room and parlor of Abraham Lincoln, in his house at Springfield, are, as the reader may observe, simply and plainly fitted up, but are not without indications of taste and refinement. They are the "leisure-rooms," as parlors might properly be called, of the great majority of Americans in comfortable circumstances in country towns, and will doubtless suggest to the reader many a pleasant hour passed in such apartments. . . . The rooms are elegantly and comfortably furnished with strong well-made furniture, made for use and not for show.

George Ashmun, the chairman of the notification committee, described the house in the *New York Times* of May 24, 1860:

The door opens into a broad hall, with rooms upon either side. Mr. Lincoln, who had been apprised of our coming, stood at the back end of the double parlor on the left,—in which was a bookcase filled with law books,—and the Committee and other guests upon entering grouped themselves around him.

The *Chicago Tribune* of May 6, 1865 reported:

There is little of the furniture in the house which belonged to Mr. Lincoln. In the front parlor is a what-not and a small marble topped table on which was lying a beautiful cross of white camelias. In the back parlor, which he was accustomed to use as his study, is his bookcase. This was his favorite room, and here he toiled and wrote unconsciously preparing himself for the great mission he was to fulfill. . . . A heavy oaken bedstead and a chamber set conclude the relics.

The articles described by the *Tribune* had been purchased by the renter, Lucian Tilton, for his own use. Despite the story that "most" of the Lincolns' furniture was taken over by the Tiltons and subsequently lost in the Chicago Fire of 1871, it is apparent that the Tiltons had very little of the Lincoln furniture, and much more of it may be in existence today. The *Illinois State Journal* of January 30, 1861, announced the sale of the Lincolns' household goods, and apparently everything not sold or given away to friends was stored in Springfield. Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle quote in *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow* Mrs. Lincoln's letter from the Executive Mansion on May 29, 1862 to Mrs. John C. Sprigg, a Springfield neighbor:

. . . I see by the papers that Mr [William S.] *Burch* is married. We have some pieces of furniture, still remain at his house, may I ask a favor of you—It is this—If Mr [George N.] Black can have room for them, can they be moved, to any place above his store [he was a son-in-law and partner of John Williams], where he may have room for them. The sofa, at Mr Burch's was new, a few months before we left. May I also ask you, to speak to Mr Black, and see if the 8 boxes we left with him, are all there.

During the years many articles well-attested to have belonged to the Lincolns have found their way back "home." These include a big wall clock, the coat and umbrella rack, a glass cake plate, four pieces of ironstone china, Lincoln's portable writing box, a stereoscope box, a whatnot, Mary's commode box, a cane-seated rocker, and Abe's specially made seven-foot couch.

A study of the furniture which belonged to the Lincolns in Springfield makes possible a general picture of the styles and kinds of furniture which they used. Like the architecture of the Home itself, the furniture represents a transition—in this case from the earlier solid and massive Empire pieces

to the more graceful early Victorian. This is quite evident from the *Leslie's* sketches. The parlor, the "show" room of the house then as now, would have exhibited these changes earliest, as the first new pieces were purchased for it. When the house was enlarged in 1856 there must have been extensive buying of new pieces for the new rooms and a readjustment of the furnishings of the entire house. In accordance with such thinking older furniture has been retired upstairs and the newest pieces set up in the parlor and sitting room. The maid's room at the rear has been furnished with the oldest things in the house, while the furniture becomes progressively more impressive as one reaches the front of the house and goes downstairs.

Selection of the wallpaper was given careful attention. Research led to the conclusion that the wallpapers available in Springfield during the 1850's would have been of either English or eastern United States origin. Search was then made for reproductions of paper from the period 1850-1860, with consideration being given to what Mary Lincoln's taste in decoration might have been. The choice was complicated by the scarcity of these reproductions, since papers popular in that period are not greatly desired today. It is simple to find reproductions of earlier papers in the delightful (at least to modern taste) patterns of eighteenth-century New England, but it is no more proper to install a Colonial Williamsburg paper in the Lincoln Home than one of extreme modern design. The present wallpaper in the Home represents a fairly happy compromise between what was desired and what was available without undergoing prohibitive expensive reproduction. Some of the wallpaper in Lincoln's bedroom is reputed to have survived intact since 1861. This paper was reproduced in 1930 and placed on the walls of the sitting room. Because it so closely resembles the wallpaper shown in the *Leslie's* sketch it has been retained there as well as in Lincoln's

bedroom, where a portion of the original is now framed under glass. But beyond this one pattern there was nothing to use as a guide in the dangerous process of trying to project the tastes of a personality of the past.

On April 23, 1849, John E. Roll, a local contractor, submitted a bill to Lincoln for \$26.60 for plastering work, whitewashing four ceilings and the kitchen, and filling up and plastering fireplaces and laying hearth. Lincoln paid part of the bill by giving Roll six door sash—source unknown—and the rest in cash. It must have been at this time that the Lincolns abandoned the fireplaces and adopted the new cast-iron stoves coming into popular use, one of which is shown in the *Leslie's* sketch of the front parlor. It may have been at this time too that the two north windows of the front parlor were removed, the openings filled in, and the shutters closed permanently. Perhaps these two windows permitted too much winter wind to enter the house, or perhaps Mary, like some modern apartment house dwellers, complained that there was too little wall space for her fine furniture. On March 30, 1850, Roll whitewashed two rooms for which he was paid two dollars on August 30. These may have been the two upstairs rooms, which were probably used as bedrooms. In the restoration the white ceilings have been retained everywhere, but only the kitchen is completely whitewashed. Upstairs the maid's room, the trunk room (now converted into the custodian's office) and the back hall were probably whitewashed originally, but for practical maintenance reasons they have been redone with an unobtrusive dark, small-patterned wallpaper.

Source material on the Lincoln kitchen is very meager, so it has been restored as a typical kitchen of the 1850's. The stove is a near duplicate of the Lincoln stove now in the Ford's Theatre Museum in Washington, D. C. There is a good supply of equipment for making tea and coffee, since the Lincolns purchased both in quantity from John Williams & Co.,



FRONT PARLOR OF THE LINCOLN HOME IN 1861



THE SAME ROOM—REDECORATED IN 1955



BACK PARLOR—AS SKETCHED BY *Leslie's* ARTIST



THE SAME PARLOR—NINETY-FOUR YEARS LATER



THE SITTING ROOM—AS SKETCHED BY *Leslie's* ARTIST



Photos by William Calvin and Ward Johnson, State Photographers

SITTING ROOM—REDECORATED IN 1955

J. Bunn & Co., and C. M. & S. Smith, Springfield merchants. At Corneau and Diller's drug store the Lincolns bought such commodities as cream of tartar, vanilla, and brandy for cooking and preserving. A glass lantern such as was purchased from Williams & Co. on May 10, 1856 will hang from the ceiling of the kitchen and another on the porch. The kitchen must have been a busy place and a center of life for the family; it is unfortunate that only a tin rice steamer and an iron-stone sugar bowl and creamer are items actually owned by the Lincolns.

For lighting the Lincolns must chiefly have used candles, for they bought more than four pounds of Star candles from C. M. & S. Smith every month during 1859. They had some lamps, bought from Irwin & Co. in 1844, and the kitchen may have rendered enough animal fat for several Betty lamps for use in the rear of the house. However, as yet no lamp has been found well authenticated as having belonged to the Lincolns, and the *Leslie's* sketches show only girandole candelabra on the mantels. Therefore the Home is provided with candle stands and candelabra throughout, with one Betty lamp in the kitchen.

In 1950 the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Illinois requested that they be permitted to undertake the restoration of Abraham and Mary Lincoln's bedrooms. Since that time the Historical Activities Committee of that society has worked in close co-operation with the historical staff of the Division of Parks and Memorials not only in the furnishing of these bedrooms, which were their primary concern, but also in obtaining materials for the remainder of the upstairs. As a result all major pieces of furniture are now in every room and only a few minor accessories are yet wanting.

Throughout the second floor there have been installed white muslin or lace curtains, held with antique tiebacks and

hung according to the very specific directions given in *An Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy*, a book "comprising subjects connected with the interests of every individual," by T. Webster and Mrs. Parkes, published in New York in 1849 by Harper and Brothers. It is a mine of information for the historical restorer and in all cases was resorted to for the arrangement of furnishings throughout the house. All the beds, for example, have been made up according to the illustrations and directions contained there. An extant sale bill to Samuel H. Melvin, Springfield druggist, signed "Feby 9th 1861 Recd payment A. Lincoln," includes \$26 for one spring and mattress. The Lincolns must surely, then, have had the small coil springs and mattresses of the day rather than the old rope beds. Therefore all the beds have been so equipped. In addition to the spring and mattress Dr. Melvin bought six chairs (probably the Empire fiddle backs from the parlor), a six-shelf whatnot, a wardrobe, a "Stand," nine and a half yards of stair carpet (from the front hall, surely), and four comforters. He paid \$82.25 for the entire lot. Using this information from the sale bill, every bed has been given a comforter at its foot, with the maid having a particularly thick one since she inhabited the only unheated bedroom upstairs. It is the maid, also, who very pointedly has the ubiquitous bed-warmer hanging on her wall.

In furnishing Lincoln's bedroom the Colonial Dames utilized information in the "Recollections of Judge Franklin Blades" in *Abraham Lincoln by Some Men Who Knew Him*:

I once attended a reception by Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln at their old-fashioned residence in Springfield. The invitation I received was in the handwriting of Mr. Lincoln. I have it yet. The guests were received in an informal and friendly manner by Mrs. Lincoln. On being ushered upstairs I found Mr. Lincoln and the Democratic State Auditor . . . sitting on a high post bed, chatting with each other, Mr. Lincoln particularly greeting all who came into the room. Mr. Lin-

coln was not then talked of for the presidency—certainly not outside of his own State.

This led to the conclusion that Lincoln used his bedroom for more than just sleeping; it has therefore been comfortably furnished with a desk and one of his favorite rockers in addition to his own chest of drawers and other appropriate furniture, including a high four-poster bed.

Mrs. Lincoln's bedroom, having a lower ceiling, has furniture not so tall as her husband's; her mirrors also are hung lower than his because of her lesser height. In addition to her own chest of drawers, commode box, black haircloth rocker and two of her painted fancy Sheraton chairs, her bedroom has been equipped with such accouterments as a teapot and many books, which would make life easier for a lady who frequently took to her bed in malaise.

In refurnishing the other three bedrooms much thought was given to what their daily use would have been. Tradition had described them as the "guest bedroom," "Robert's bedroom" and the "maid's room." There is little record, however, of the Lincolns' having had many house guests; therefore the so-called "guest bedroom" has, for the present, been largely devoted to the two younger boys, Tad and Willie, who probably simply moved to other quarters when someone stayed overnight. Boys' toys from the 1850's have been installed in this south front bedroom, with the result that it has quite a happy and well lived-in look. Robert was permitted to retain his own room, being the eldest son, although after July, 1859 he would have been in school at Phillips Exeter Academy and later at Harvard College most of the time. Very probably, while Robert was away, Tad and Willie took over his room, too. Down the back hall from Robert's bedroom was the trunk room, then filled with family odds and ends. There was little hesitation in giving over the trunk room to necessary administrative affairs, since it would rarely have been open even when the Lincolns lived there.



Photo by Illinois Studio, Springfield

LINCOLN'S BEDROOM, NOW OPEN TO THE PUBLIC



Photo by William Calvin and Ward Johnson, State Photographers

ROBERT TODD LINCOLN'S BEDROOM

This condensed survey of the restoration work which culminated on February 12, 1955 with the opening of the entire Lincoln Home to the public would be unjust without acknowledgment of the debt owed many score individuals for their generous assistance in furnishing the house. The Division of Parks and Memorials and the National Society of Colonial Dames believe today's visitor to the Home will be impressed as favorably, were he to describe his impressions, as the visitor from the East who, in the *Utica* (N.Y.) *Morning Herald* of June 27, 1860, published "An Evening with Abraham Lincoln":

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

JUNE 21, 1860.

. . . I had little difficulty in finding the place of my destination. A modest-looking two story brown frame house, with the name "A. Lincoln" on the door plate, told me that my pilgrimage was ended. I was met at the door by a servant, who ushered me into the parlor, and carried my note to Mr. Lincoln, who was upstairs. The house was neatly without being extravagantly furnished. An air of quiet refinement pervaded the place. You would have known instantly that she who presided over that modest household was a true type of the American lady. There were flowers upon the table; there were pictures upon the walls. The ornaments were few, but chastely appropriate; everything was in its place, and ministered to the general effect. The hand of the domestic artist was everywhere visible. The thought that involuntarily blossomed into speech was,

"What a pleasant home Abe Lincoln has."

“JUDGE” ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY HARRY E. PRATT

IN the summer of 1850 Lincoln's law partner William H. Herndon and a brilliant young Springfield attorney, William I. Ferguson, learned on their way to court at Taylorville that Judge David Davis could not hold court there because of his wife's illness. Ferguson conceived the idea of announcing that he was authorized by the judge to hold court. Herndon related the incident some years later:

One lawyer made a motion, and during the time it was being argued, some one behaved rather badly. Young Ferguson said: "Mr. Clerk, fine Mr. ——— one dollar for contempt of Court, in making too much noise and for keeping his hat on in the court-room." The man walked up; paid his fine with some grumbling. Two or three fines in addition were thus imposed. Probably four or five dollars were collected in this way. In about one or two hours, Ferguson rose up in the chair and said: "Mr. Clerk, Court's adjourned. Let's go and have a general frolic with the fine-money—a big, old-fashioned spree." Then it was first discovered that it was a sham court. The people were wild in their fun, and those that paid the fines enjoyed the joke more than all others.¹

Davis was first elected judge of the Eighth Judicial District in 1848 and continued to occupy the position until Lincoln appointed him to the Supreme Court of the United States in the fall of 1862. When he was called home occasionally

¹ William H. Herndon to Oscar T. Shuck, Springfield, Ill., March 20, 1869, in Shuck (ed.), *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific*, San Francisco, 1870, pp. 320-22.

because of illness or for other reasons was absent from court for short periods, he followed a practice then common in Illinois circuit courts of selecting an attorney to preside, with the consent of counsel, in his absence. In order to prevent reversal on appeal the clerk's official record would show the true judge as sitting and would not mention the substitution. Lincoln is known to have presided for Davis during the judge's absence at least seven times, Oliver L. Davis of Danville twice and Clifton H. Moore of Clinton once. Oliver Davis and Moore both had extensive practices in their own counties and both were deep students of the law. Oliver Davis, like Lincoln, was often called a lawyer's lawyer. Lincoln possessed the tact called for by the unofficial character of the position as well as rare judgment in exercising his authority.

William H. Somers, clerk of the Champaign County circuit court beginning in the spring of 1857, wrote: "Judge Davis frequently called Mr. Lincoln to take the Bench, while he went out for exercise. A courtesy, I dont remember of seeing him extend to any other Attorney, of the twenty or more in attendance."² Henry Clay Whitney, an attorney in Champaign County (1855-1858), erroneously wrote a half-century later in his book *Lincoln the Citizen*:

Judge Davis often delegated his judicial functions to others. I have known of his getting Moon [Moore] of Clinton to hold court for him in Bloomington for whole days; Lincoln to hold an entire term, and frequently to sit for short times; and I even knew of Colonel Bryant of Indiana to hold court for him at Danville. All judgments rendered by these lawyers were voidable. Time has probably now cured them; it was hazardous business for them and the sheriff and suitors in their cases.³

No proof for the statement that Lincoln held an entire term has been found by this writer, nor is there proof of Whitney's

² William H. Somers to James R. B. Van Cleave, El Cajon, Calif., Dec. 7, 1908. Original in Illinois State Historical Library.

³ New York, 1908, p. 192.

statement that two cases heard by "Judge" Lincoln were reversed by the Supreme Court because he was on the bench.

Lincoln's desire that justice be done to all was recognized at New Salem where he acted as arbiter of cockfights, horse races and various forms of physical combat engaged in by the Clary's Grove gang. Years later his fellow attorneys noted this same judicial spirit—the desire to act as arbitrator for litigants, to conciliate and settle a dispute so as to leave the parties friends. Lincoln soon learned that a plaintiff could win a lawsuit and yet lose in time spent and by setting a whole neighborhood at loggerheads. Judge Davis recognized these qualities in Lincoln, and the good feeling of the bar toward him accounted for Davis' choice of Lincoln to sit on the bench for him.

A careful scrutiny of the available Judge's Dockets of the Eighth Circuit has up to now revealed entries in Lincoln's handwriting—sometimes only one abbreviated word—proving that he served as judge on at least seven occasions in four different counties. He presided in the Sangamon Circuit Court at Springfield in three cases in November, 1854 and on December 1, 1856; in Champaign County at Urbana, April 22-24, 1856 and April 22, 1858; in Logan County at Lincoln, April 2, 1859; and in DeWitt County at Clinton in March and October, 1859.

The original sheets from the Judge's Dockets in Sangamon, Logan and DeWitt counties have been transferred (with photostatic copies substituted) to the Illinois State Historical Library by the respective boards of supervisors. The Library has also obtained photostats of forty-two pages of Judge's Docket A of Champaign County with "Judge" Lincoln's notations in 145 cases. In seventy-four cases Lincoln's only notation is "Cont [inued]"; in several others it reads "Judgt. by default. Clerk assess damages."

Lincoln is said to have also helped out in Judge Davis'

absence on one occasion in Tazewell County, but a search of the complete dockets (1848-1860) does not show any notations in his hand.

SANGAMON COUNTY

The calf-bound ledger-size Judge's Docket for 1854 is the first volume in Sangamon to show other than the bold scrawl of Judge Davis on the right-hand page under the heading "Remarks." It was here that the judge indicated what disposition was made of each case as it came up for trial. The left-hand page carried the titles of the cases in the order of their filing, along with the names of the attorneys employed by the parties to each suit. The cases were not tried in the order in which they were filed and listed on the docket.

Lincoln was "Judge" in three cases in the Sangamon Circuit Court either on Saturday, November 25, or on the following Saturday, December 2, 1854. Davis had probably taken the Saturday afternoon train on the Alton Road to his home in Bloomington. In *Edward Clark v. Henry R. Clark et al.*, a chancery case in which Stephen T. Logan appeared for the plaintiff and Lincoln & Herndon for the defendants, Lincoln wrote on the Judge's Docket "Defts. ruled to answer by the 1st of Feby next." In *James H. Haines v. John George*, for breach of contract, James C. Conkling appeared for the plaintiff and the firm of John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards for the defendant. "Judge" Lincoln entered on the docket: "Appearance of Haines entered by Mr. Conkling. Cont[*inued*]. on oath of Deft. at his costs."

In the assault and battery case of *Henry Perry v. Jesse Alexander*, Lincoln acted as judge in a case in which the law firm of Lincoln & Herndon were the plaintiff's attorneys. Logan, attorney for the defendant, manifested his confidence in his former law partner in consenting to this unusual procedure. Lincoln entered on the docket: "Pltf. ruled to file security

for costs. Trial by jury. Jury of eleven by agreement." In Judge Davis' bold hand underneath is written "Verdict for deft."

Scattered through the fall term of 1856 are notations in forty-five cases in Lincoln's hand. The longest and most publicized murder case in the early history of Sangamon County packed the courtroom from November 19 to 29. It was the first case reported by shorthand for the local newspaper, and the pages of the *Daily Illinois State Journal* were filled with the details of the brutal murder of George Anderson as he stepped out of the privy in his back yard. The widow and a nephew, Theodore Anderson, were charged with the murder. A panel of 240 was examined in order to get a jury. At nine o'clock on Saturday night, November 29, the arguments were over; several hours later the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Judge Davis went home to Bloomington for a rest, leaving Lincoln, who had earned \$50 as one of the four attorneys for Theodore Anderson, to preside over the court at the opening on Monday, December 1.

On that day "Judge" Lincoln entered orders in forty-two cases—five for the people, ten in chancery and twenty-seven at common law. Two debt cases went by default and verdicts of \$1,105.11 and \$1,526.58 were brought in by jury of inquiry. Two men accused of selling whisky without a license had "Recognizance forfeited, & Sci[re] Fa[cias] ordered." Maria House, indicted for murder, entered her plea of not guilty, and Lincoln set the trial for the following Monday. Six default judgments were entered in chancery cases to foreclose mortgages. In *Curtis Hoppin v. Curtis J. Norton et al.*, in which Stuart & Edwards represented the plaintiff, Davis had granted the foreclosure. Lincoln wrote on the docket: "On power of Atty. A. Lincoln enters appearance of Curtis J. Norton & consents to the decree herein." A divorce was granted to Joseph Y. Wynn in an uncontested action. The petition of the administrators of Esther Gillmore to sell real estate that could not

"be divided without injury" was granted, and in *Price v. Irwin* (an ejectment suit) the defendant was ruled to plead in twenty days.

Eleven of the twenty-seven common law cases were for breach of contract, in which agreement by counsel had been reached. Lincoln entered judgments ranging from \$1.63 to \$344, totaling \$2,031.35. In *Dalby and Radcliff v. Chicago & Mississippi [Alton] Railroad Company*, a jury was called and a verdict rendered for the plaintiff for \$1,500 and costs. When Judge Davis returned he noted below Lincoln's docket entry, "Enter Jugt. of Tuesday 3d week. Stay Execution for 6 mos." Two slander cases were dismissed by Lincoln; in four others he set dates for trial or granted leave to the plaintiffs to amend their declarations. In the single divorce case Lincoln granted the petitioner a decree.

The Sangamon County courthouse in which Lincoln served as judge was a two-story brick building on the southeast corner of Sixth and Washington streets, fronting westward on Capitol Square. In a three-story brick building directly opposite on the west side of the square one climbed a stairway to the second floor, then went down the hall to Lincoln & Herndon's two-room law office at the rear.

The courthouse, erected in 1845, was a rectangular building of Grecian-style architecture, with pilasters on the sides and a portico in front supported by six Ionic columns. The circuit courtroom, which occupied the second floor, was about fifty feet long, forty wide and twenty high. The furnishings noted by a visitor in 1866 could have changed little in the ten years since Lincoln presided:

[At the west end of the room] are the judge's bench and bar, occupying about one third of the room, and separated from the remaining area by a wooden paling about two and a half feet in height.

Within the bar are plain, well whittled pine desks, with common wooden chairs. Outside of the bar the room is fur-

nished with long pine benches with backs. These were once painted, but now, in keeping with the whole place, they bear abundant marks of the use of the knife.⁴

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY

Lincoln and leading Republican politicians including Judge Davis, Norman B. Judd, Charles H. Ray, Ozias M. Hatch and John M. Palmer attended as observers the state conventions of the Douglas and Buchanan factions of the Democratic Party in Springfield on Wednesday, April 21, 1857. Lincoln left early the next morning on the Great Western train for Tolono, changing there to the Illinois Central for Urbana, where he held court for Judge Davis the remainder of the week. The Eighth Judicial Circuit had been gradually reduced from its high point of fifteen counties, until in 1857 only Logan, McLean, DeWitt, Vermilion and Champaign remained. Lincoln left the Sangamon County business to his partner Herndon, as the Sangamon and Champaign courts met this term at the same time.

In the fine old leather-bound Champaign County Circuit Judge's Docket A "Judge" Lincoln's entries appear on forty-two pages. There are notations in his handwriting in seventy-six of the 108 chancery cases and in sixty-two of the 435 common law cases on the docket for the term.

In *Benjamin Argo v. John Trummell*, an appeal from a justice of the peace, Lincoln's entry reads: "Judgt. as per agree[men]t on file—for \$20. & plff pay costs." He granted Ophelia Baldwin a divorce from her husband William. In *Jeremiah Baltzell et al. v. William W. Foos*, a petition for a mechanic's lien, Lincoln's entry reads:

Defendant Foos. served with process—called and defaulted—Proof of Pub[lication]—& other defendants de-

⁴ Article by Edwin S. Walker (clipping from unidentified newspaper dated Feb. 19, 1867). Biographical sketch of Walker in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Oct. 1912), 427-29.

faulted except R R Co. who have answered. Upon proof, Decree for Compl[ainan]ts. against Foos \$230.60 & costs and for sale of Deft. Foos' interest in the premises, reserving the rights of Illinois Central Railroad Company & all other parties.

"Judge" Lincoln granted Charles Brewer's petition to sell real estate as follows:

Order for guardian to sell real estate, on credit of one & two years, with ten per cent, except costs and charges which are to be in advance. Guardian to give such security as Probate Court may require & to reinvest proceeds, for wards, in land in Coles County.

Lincoln's original entry in *L. D. Chadden v. J. D. Beasley et al.* was cut from the docket (replaced by a copy) and sent on May 23, 1865 to Chicago to be sold at the North Western Sanitary Fair. Henry C. Whitney published a copy in *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (1892) and related the story. The twenty-one defendants had signed a note to enable L. G. Chase to begin publication of *The Spirit of the Agricultural Press* at West Urbana (now Champaign). Chase sold the note to Chadden who, by his attorneys McKinley & Jones, now sought to collect. On the last day of the term, Saturday, April 24, 1858, defense attorneys Whitney, James W. and William D. Somers, William N. Coler, Joseph W. Sim and J. C. Sheldon tried in every way to get the case continued. Instead of adjourning court in the afternoon, Lincoln held an evening session by candlelight, and at eight o'clock rendered judgment for the plaintiff, expressing his disgust for twenty-one men trying to evade a legal obligation by twaddle over "no moral obligation" by this "singular entry" in the docket:

Plea in abatement by B. Z. Green a defendant not served filed Saturday at 11 o'clock A.M. April 24th 1858. Stricken from the files by order of the Court. Dem[urrer]. to the declaration if there ever was one overruled[.]

Defendants who are served, now at 8 o'clock P.M. of

the last day of the term ask to plead to the merits which is denied by the Court on the ground that the offer comes too late, And therefore as by Nil Dicet judgment is rendered for the Plff. against the defendants who are served with process. Clerk Assess damages.⁵

Circuit Clerk Somers recalled the case with this comment:

It was on an occasion like this when Mr. Lincoln was presiding, that I heard an amusing colloquy between two opposing attorneys, as to whether a demurrer had been filed in a certain case, that is perhaps worth relating, as showing Mr. Lincoln's good diplomacy in settling disputes under embarrassing circumstances.

The case was called up for argument, but it was never argued nor even presented altho the attorney stoutly insisted that he had handed it to the clerk within the prescribed time, but it could not be found. The dispute grew quite warm, so much so, in fact, that Mr. Lincoln asked the Attorney to state the grounds of his demurrer. As he did so, Mr. Lincoln became convinced that it was interposed for delay only, whereupon he promptly entered, on the trial docket, this unique ruling:

"Demurrer overruled if there ever was any."⁶

Herndon in his biography of Lincoln adds this comment:

The lawyer who reads this singular entry will appreciate its oddity if no one else does. After making it one of the lawyers, on recovering [from] his astonishment, ventured to inquire, "Well, Lincoln, how can we get this case up again?" Lincoln eyed him quizzically a moment, and then answered, "You have all been so mighty smart about this case you can find out how to take it up again yourselves."⁷

Lincoln's name appears as an attorney less than a dozen times on the docket at this term. However, many cases carry

⁵ Copy substituted for original in Judge's Docket.

⁶ Somers to Van Cleave, Dec. 7, 1908.

⁷ William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (Angle ed.), New York, 1930, p. 283.

only the name of the local attorney with whom he was associated. Of the twenty-eight lawyers in attendance about half were from out of town, but most of the business went to the local attorneys—Whitney, the Somers brothers, McKinley & Jones, and Coler, Sim & Sheldon.

LOGAN COUNTY

Dr. J. H. Beidler recalled that Lincoln presided over the Logan Circuit Court for a time at the September term, 1857, which was held in the Christian Church in Lincoln because the courthouse had burned on April 15. Lincoln was in Chicago throughout September, however, busy mainly with *Hurd v. Rock Island Bridge Company* (the *Effie Afton* case), and Beidler apparently confused this occasion with Saturday, April 2, 1859, when Lincoln did preside in the city named for him.

John Lacey was fined \$5 for riot and Frederick Grosbernt \$50 for selling liquor without a license. "Judge" Lincoln granted a divorce to Sherman P. Herrington on the ground that Hepsiba Ann had deserted him for a period of two years: "two years absence without reasonable cause fully made out. Divorce decreed." One case for foreclosure of a chattel mortgage was stricken from the docket, a bill to assign dower was approved, and Lynn McNulty Greene, an old friend of Lincoln's New Salem days, was granted a decree of foreclosure against the estate of Isaac Huffman, deceased.

Lincoln entered formal orders in twenty-six common law cases in Logan County. He dismissed two of three appeals from justices of the peace for want of "a true & full transcript," and in the third found that the justice had no jurisdiction over the defendant. Six cases were dismissed and two continued; in seven, judgment was granted by default and the clerk directed to assess damages; in four cases involving unpaid notes Lincoln found the plaintiffs entitled to the money plus interest and costs, and in five others leave was given to

amend the declaration, withdraw papers, or set aside Judge Davis' "Rule to plead by Friday," because no declaration had been filed. Three Logan County attorneys—Lionel P. Lacy, Samuel C. Parks and William H. Young—handled most of the thirty-three cases.

DEWITT COUNTY

Judge Davis found 1,148 common law cases on the docket when he opened the spring term of the DeWitt Circuit Court at Clinton on March 7, 1858. Lincoln, busy the first week of the term with several cases, presided over the court for part of Monday of the second week. In twenty cases, three men were fined \$10 and costs each for gambling; William H. Cundiff was granted a divorce from Rebecca A. Cundiff; by consent of the parties in open court the plaintiff in *Adkinson v. Nagley et al.* was awarded \$2,400 and costs; six suits were dismissed and seven continued; William G. Young was awarded \$70 for a plastering job for Lewis Cary; and in the only jury trial a verdict for \$213 was awarded in the ejectment suit of *Walker v. Hubble*. The attorneys whose names appear oftener on the docket than any others are John M. Palmer of Carlinville, Lawrence Weldon of Bloomington and Clifton H. Moore of Clinton.

Lincoln again acted as judge in Clinton for a short time during the October, 1859 term, writing several entries under "Judge's Remarks" in the Judge's Docket. Four forgery cases were continued on the affidavit of the defendant, "he appearing and entering the plea of not guilty." George Gregory plead guilty of "wilful mischief" for which he was fined \$5. In *The People v. William S. Todd*, indicted for "assault with intent," "Judge" Lincoln made the following entry:

Trial by jury, on application of States Attorney, in absence of defendant and no counsel appearing for him Verdict of guilty. Motion for new trial by counsel, in absence of

defendant, overruled by the court—and defendant fined \$100. excepted and to stand committed till fine & costs are paid, or replevied. Motion in arrest of judgment by counsel, in absence of defendant overruled. Deft. being called & not appearing, his bail was called & not appearing, his Recognizance is declared forfeited.

Several of Lincoln's entries in nine assumpsit cases indicate that he presided for a time on Wednesday, October 12 and Friday, October 14, near the close of the two-week term. He wrote on the docket in *Rufus Mills v. Bentley Mills* "Leave to plead in Sixty days from this 12 Oct. 1859," and a similar entry on October 14 in *Asa Swaggard v. William H. DeBoice*. Two of these suits were dismissed and the others ruled to plead later. In *Orrin W. Webster's* petition for a mechanic's lien the jury found for the complainant in the amount of \$50.63 $\frac{3}{4}$. In the chancery cases which Lincoln heard, he granted a divorce to Rebecca Chalmer and two foreclosures by default of the defendants. In *Hubbard et al. v. Wilson Allen*, an ejectment case, the principal plaintiff was Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, the old Indian trader and member of the legislature, but now a Chicago businessman. Lincoln's entry in this case was "Plfs. file Declaration & notice and proof of service. Deft. ruled to plead in Twenty days." In all there are entries by "Judge" Lincoln in twenty-five cases at the October term.

The practice of submitting cases, in the absence of the Judge, to an attorney agreed upon was in vogue in Illinois until 1877, when the Supreme Court put an end to the practice in *Major Meredith v. The People* (84 Ill. 479). Judge Thomas F. Tipton was employed in other official duties in the McLean County courthouse, and by consent of counsel, two lawyers successively occupied the bench during the argument. Joseph W. Fifer, the state's attorney, asked for the death penalty and got it. The Supreme Court reversed the decision, holding that "the parties are entitled to have the judge present, and he can not, even by consent of parties, be elsewhere employed."



Photo courtesy of R. T. Gumpert, Baltimore, Md.

TAD LINCOLN AND GUSTAV E. GUMPERT

Lincoln's youngest son and his friend posed for this picture in Philadelphia, probably in 1864 when Tad was eleven years old.

TAD LINCOLN AND GUS GUMPERT

BY GUSTAV GUMPERT

TAD LINCOLN was nearly eight when his father became President. A "tag-a-bout" boy, he preferred his father's company to anyone's except his ten-year-old brother Willie's. His first year in the White House was a joyous one—filled with dogs, ponies, goats, soldiers, army camps, Bud and Holly Taft for new playmates, and with only short interruptions from tutors. Tad is described by his mother's cousin Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, who nursed him through the measles in the late spring of 1861, as "a gay, gladsome, merry, spontaneous fellow, bubbling over with innocent fun, whose laugh rang through the house, when not moved to tears."¹

Willie's death on February 20, 1862, and Tad's serious illness brought a new world into existence. A new tenderness and understanding arose between the father and his impetuous, highly emotional son. The irrepressible youngster relieved the tension in the White House through the remainder of the war; only when he was playing "Indian" or "horse" or "bear" with Tad did the President seem happy after Willie's death. Beset by the cares of office, however, Lincoln found

¹ Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XIX (Oct., 1926-Jan., 1927), 48-49.

Gustav Gumpert is a great-grandson of the Gustav E. Gumpert of this article. He is Health Education Consultant, Department of Public Health, City of Philadelphia, and editor of Public Health Views.

less and less time to spend with his son. To fill this void the boy developed a strong friendship with two young men, Gustav E. Gumpert and Thomas W. Sweney, both of Philadelphia.

Gustav Edward Gumpert, born in Bernburg, Germany on June 5, 1835, was the eldest son of Walter H. and Fanny Gumpert. The father, a wine and wool merchant, apprenticed Gustav to a fellow trader in Stettin to learn the business. After two years of "accounting himself well" he returned home and, having been exempted from military service, accompanied his parents, two sisters and two brothers to America in 1856. Within a few months Walter Gumpert founded a cigar business which, within less than ten years, virtually dominated the tobacco industry of the nation. On his death in 1861, Gustav and his brothers Richard T. and Albert F. formed a partnership which prospered and in a few years had several factories in Pennsylvania.

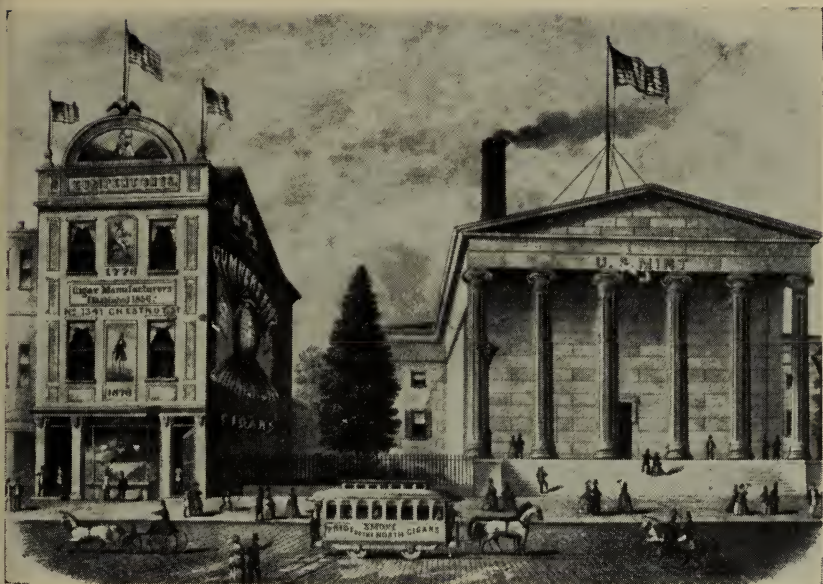
Gustav became acquainted with the Lincolns early in the Civil War, and as his friendship with Tad developed the Lincolns were invited to Philadelphia. When Mrs. Lincoln and Tad visited the city on several occasions in 1863-1864, stopping at the Continental Hotel, they were entertained by "Gus" Gumpert, as Tad called his friend. Mrs. Lincoln telegraphed on November 26, 1862 to "Augustus" Gumpert, Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore: "Please bring Tad home immediately he can come on Tom Cross's car."²

Tad himself wired on October 4, 1863: "Gus I want to know about that box you was to send me. Please let me know right away if you Please. Col Thomas Lincoln."³ The youthful colonel was equally imperious in tone in two telegrams to Sweney in 1864, wiring on February 6, "Come on as soon as possibly Answer right away"⁴ and on May 9, implying Sweney's promise to pay for a pony, "I have found a pony to

² Carnegie Book Shop Catalog No. 185, Jan. 1954, Item 251.

³ Original in Illinois State Historical Library.

⁴ *Ibid.*



From a print owned by Gustav Gumpert, Philadelphia

THE STORE WHERE TAD LINCOLN PLAYED

Gumpert Bros. cigar store at 1341 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. The decorations were evidently for the Centennial Exposition of 1876.

suit me. Please therefore, come on this evening so that you may be able to see him tomorrow.”⁵

On Tad's visits to Philadelphia he enjoyed the run of the Gumpert Brothers store at 1341 Chestnut Street. Sometimes, to the annoyance of Albert and Richard Gumpert, the President's son opened the cash drawer and scattered its contents. On more than one occasion he rode a pony into the store, frightening off the customers.

Tad, like his father, had problems he could not solve. On October 6, 1864 he addressed a note to "Dear Gumpert: I send Thomas Cross to see you about the Carriage Bill. It was sent to me Aand I ant got any money to pay the man with.

⁵ *Ibid.* This telegram is in the handwriting of the telegraph operator and probably phrased by him.

And Oblidge Thomas Lincoln Yr Friend Tad." ⁶ Such requests were a small price to pay for the friendship of Tad and his doting parents. The President expressed his appreciation in gifts to Gus of an amethyst ring, set in gold, and a pair of cuff links bearing his initials in old English script. ⁷

Tad's telegram to Sweney of April 25, 1865, ten days after his father's death, portrays his existing friendship for both men. It read: "please send me that new suit of Black to fit me in one size larger than that Gus given me & oblige T. Lincoln." ⁸

Sweney had been appointed by Lincoln as assessor of internal revenue for the Second District of Pennsylvania, with offices at 1226 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Mrs. Lincoln wrote on December 20, 1864: "The President has sent his recommendations to Mr. Fessenden, concerning the appointment of Mr. Gumpert as special agent. Mr. Gumpert says they are filed. If you would assist Mr. G. in obtaining such a position, you would confer an especial favor upon me. I would be very much obliged to you, as I have desired Mr. Gumpert to obtain such a place." ⁹ After two years of travel in the Southwest as a special Treasury agent, Gumpert became revenue collector for the port of Philadelphia.

He wrote and published several patriotic ballads, the best known of which were "The Dying Volunteer" and "Our Country's Flag." He married Mary Mills on June 15, 1865, and died in 1883 at the age of forty-eight, after a lingering illness caused by tuberculosis.

⁶ Original owned by Dr. Charles W. Olsen, Chicago.

⁷ These are now owned by Richard T. Gumpert, Baltimore.

⁸ Original in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

⁹ Copy, Abraham Lincoln Assn. files, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

MARY LINCOLN WRITES TO NOAH BROOKS

BY FRANCIS WHITING HATCH

AMONG the small group of men who were on intimate terms with the Lincolns during the Civil War days was Noah Brooks (1830-1903). Born in Castine, Maine, he studied art in Boston and then drifted into journalism. While writing for the *Dixon* (Illinois) *Telegraph*, he met Lincoln at Dixon during the Frémont campaign of 1856 and their friendship continued through the Lincoln-Douglas debates. In 1859 Brooks went to Marysville, California, and did not see Lincoln again until the latter part of 1862 when he arrived in Washington as the correspondent of the *Sacramento* (California) *Union*. Their comradeship was quickly renewed and ripened into intimacy.

Mrs. Lincoln also was fond of this affable writer with the merry twinkle in his eye, and enjoyed his company in the White House. She and Dr. Anson G. Henry, an old Springfield friend whom Lincoln had appointed surveyor general of Washington Territory, suggested that Brooks replace John

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G. Nicolay as private secretary to the President. The arrangements were completed, but Lincoln was assassinated before Brooks could assume his duties. Instead, he received the appointment of naval officer in charge of the port of San Francisco and sailed from New York with Dr. Henry on July 1, 1865.

Mary Lincoln and Noah Brooks maintained their friendship by correspondence. Two of her letters were preserved by George H. Witherle, a boyhood friend of Brooks in Castine, then by Miss Amy Witherle who left them to Miss Anna Kate Witherle. Upon the latter's death they were acquired from her estate by the author. Brooks' replies have not been located.

The first letter is written on mourning stationery with a matching envelope, postmarked Chicago, December 18, and addressed to "Noah Brooks, Esqr Naval Officer of the port San Francisco Cal."

CHICAGO. DEC 16TH. 1865.

NOAH BROOKS ESQR.

MY DEAR SIR:

Several weeks have elapsed since your last letter, was received—and I thank you kindly, for your friendship, & sympathy for us, in our overwhelming bereavement. How inscrutable are the ways of Providence! *So soon*, after our terrible calamity, poor Dr H.¹ who so freely sorrowed with us, should be *so* unexpectedly called to rejoin, his great & good friend,² who, had just "passed before." Such is life & the shorter the race, the happier, for some, of *us*.

I hope some person, will be appointed, in the place, of "Frank Hen[r]y,"³ a loyal man, who will be required to

¹ Dr. Anson G. Henry drowned on July 30, 1865, when the steamer *Brother Jonathan* sank near St. George's Point off the California coast. See Harry E. Pratt, "Dr. Anson G. Henry: Lincoln's Physician and Friend," *Lincoln Herald*, XLV (Oct.-Dec., 1943), 3-17, 31-40.

² Abraham Lincoln.

³ Francis Henry, evidently a close relative, was a clerk in the office of the surveyor general of Washington Territory with a salary of \$1,200 (*U.S. Official Register for 1865*, 129). Dr. Henry had been surveyor general since 1861.

share, the small profits, of the office with his poor, afflicted Widow. For, without doubt, she requires, *such* assistance.⁴

I received, the sum of \$400, in gold—from the gentleman, you mentioned, which I acknowledged in writing. Have you ever heard, any thing about it? You spoke, of sending, the other amount, of over \$2,000 in gold—in November—as it has not yet arrived, I presume there has been some detention.⁵ I scarcely think Congress, will give us more than the *first year's* salary.⁶ Genl. Grant, has been recently presented, with his third magnificent mansion, within the last eighteen months, the last one, one of the Dougla[s]'s houses.⁷ All this, is strange inconsistency. My little Taddie,⁸ is very much indisposed, with a bad cold—and I write you, in great haste. My husband, was so earnest a friend of yours, that we will always remember you, with the kindest feelings & will always, be pleased to hear from you.

YOUR FRIEND TRULY

MARY LINCOLN.

The second of these letters has been printed previously but was poorly edited.⁹ Like the first, it has a black border, but the envelope is plain white. It was postmarked at Chicago on May 14, 1866, and simply addressed "Noah Brooks,

⁴ Francis Henry had previously aided Mrs. A. G. Henry financially while her husband was away. A. G. Henry to his wife, *Steamship Constitution*, Jan. 16, 186[5], original letter in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

⁵ Noah Brooks evidently collected money for Mrs. Lincoln from political friends of her husband. The recipients of Mrs. Lincoln's letters are unknown.

⁶ An act of Congress, approved Dec. 21, 1865, gave her \$25,000—one year's salary—less taxes and the amount already paid to Lincoln before his death, leaving a net payment of \$22,025.34. In 1870 she was granted a yearly pension of \$3,000, which was increased to \$5,000 on Feb. 2, 1882, five months before her death. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, XIV: 577, XVI: 653, XXII: 647; Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Ill., 1943), 184.

⁷ Ulysses S. Grant was presented a house in Galena, Ill.; the Union League Club gave Mrs. Grant a residence in Philadelphia; and the general purchased a home in Washington, D.C., early in November, 1865 "on excellent terms." It had formerly been occupied by John C. Breckinridge, not Stephen A. Douglas, although it was located just two doors from the Douglas mansion. New York then raised \$100,000 and paid for his Washington place. William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant: Politician* (New York, 1935), 56, 57, 59.

⁸ Thomas Lincoln (1853-1871).

⁹ Noah Brooks, "Lincoln, Chase, and Grant," *The Century Magazine*, XLIX (Feb., 1895), 612; *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1895), 124; Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* (New York, 1932), 258-59.

Esq San Francisco California." Unlike the earlier one, it is franked: "Free—Mary Lincoln." An act approved February 10, 1866, stated that "all letters and packets carried by post, to and from Mary Lincoln, widow of the late Abraham Lincoln, be conveyed free of postage during her natural life."¹⁰ When the statutes of the Post Office Department were revised on June 8, 1872, a special section for her benefit made "all mail-matter to and from Mary Lincoln" free of postage.¹¹ This granting of the franking privilege to Mrs. Lincoln was not unique; it had been granted to the widows of Presidents Washington, Madison, Harrison, John Quincy Adams, Taylor and Polk.¹² This second letter reads:

CHICAGO, MAY 11TH. [18]66

NOAH BROOKS, ESQ

MY DEAR SIR:

A few days since I received a very sad letter, from poor Mrs [Anson G.] Henry—in which she vividly portrays her great desolation and dependence upon others, for every earthly comfort. I am induced to enclose you the *Nevada Claims* & also a *petroleum* claim, hoping you may be able to secure a purchaser for them, in which case, I will most cheerfully, give Mrs Henry, some of the proceeds. I am aware, that I am taxing your kindness very greatly, yet the remembrance of your great esteem, for my beloved husband & Dr Henry, would excuse the intrusion upon you. I wish you were not, so far removed from us—*true* friends, in *these* overwhelming days of affliction, I find to be very rare. I find myself clinging more tenderly, to the memory, of those, who if *not* so remote, would be more friendly. I hope, you will be able to visit Mrs Henry, the coming summer. I sometimes, in my wildness & grief, am tempted to believe, that it is some *terrible terrible* dream, and that my idolized husband—will return to me. Poor Dr Henry, he, who wept so truly & freely with us, in our great misfortune, how, soon he, was called to join the beloved one, who had so recently "gone before." In my great sorrow, how often I have prayed

¹⁰ *U.S. Statutes at Large*, XIV: 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVII: 307.

¹² *Ibid.*, II: 19; V: 107, 461; IX: 213, 421, 440.

for death—to end, my great misery. My sons are well & a great comfort to me. I have another and *the right* Nevada Claim—with “Mary,” instead of “Frances,” upon it, which I will send you, in the event—of your being able to dispose of it.¹³ Robert,¹⁴ & Taddie, remember you, very kindly. I hope you will write to us, more frequently. I am well aware of the deep sympathy, you feel for us—and the great affection & confidence, my husband, cherished for you, draws you, very near to us. With apologies, for troubling you, as I am now doing, I remain, always

SINCERELY, YOUR FRIEND

MARY LINCOLN

Enclosed with this letter were three stock certificates which Brooks was unable to sell. As a result, they remained with his papers. “I may as well explain,” he wrote, “that the ‘claims’ referred to in Mrs. Lincoln’s letter were certain shares of ‘wild-cat’ stock, sent to her in her days of prosperity, and which the poor lady thought might be sold for a small sum.”¹⁵ As early as July, 1865, Mrs. Lincoln, imagining herself to be nearly destitute, had contemplated sending the stock to Brooks. However, she changed her mind. “I thought it best,” she explained, “not to send, for the present, those claims to Mr Brooks. Some months later, perhaps, it would be better. Anything, *we* do is seized on. An especial way, of ‘being cared for, by the American people.’ ”¹⁶

Where she received her mining stock is unknown; even more intriguing is the name “Frances T. Lincoln” written on the “Nevada Claims.” This might indicate that Mary Lincoln did not wish the company records to list her as a stockholder while her husband was President. One of the certificates was issued by the Empress Eugenie Gold and Silver Mining Company on November 3, 1864, to the amount of twenty-five

¹³ This stock certificate has not been found.

¹⁴ Robert Todd Lincoln (1843-1926).

¹⁵ Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, 123.

¹⁶ Mary Lincoln to Anson G. Henry, Chicago, July 17, 1865, original owned by Justin G. Turner, Hollywood, Calif.

shares, each share being worth \$1,000.¹⁷ The other stock certificate bears the name of the Indian Queen Mining Company and was issued on the same day as the first. It represented twenty shares of the capital stock, each worth \$500.¹⁸ Although their face value was \$35,000, Brooks could not find a



NOAH BROOKS (ca. 1872)

buyer and forgot the matter until more than a year later when the *Territorial Enterprise* [Virginia City, Nevada] took Mrs. Lincoln to task for stock speculation.

"We are not aware," Brooks, then editor of the *Alta California*, replied, "that any White House lobbying was ever performed in consideration of these shares having been sent to Mrs. Lincoln, but do know that they have been lying in this city for a year or two . . ." He had sought without success "for some financier who could give any accurate information as to what particular portion of the land of sage-brush and wildcats was the fortunate region where the 'Indian Queen' and 'Empress Eugenie' are located." He also chided the carping editor by saying that he would turn "over to the lucky bidder at a very liberal discount from its par valuation" the stock which was thought to be so valuable.¹⁹

The third stock certificate sent to Brooks was drawn on the First National Petroleum Company in the amount of five

¹⁷ This stock certificate is No. 67; the company was located at Virginia City, Nevada. It had been incorporated in October 1863, and listed its capital stock at 1,800 shares.

¹⁸ This certificate is No. 81. This company, also of Virginia City, was incorporated in 1864 and listed its capital stock as 800 shares.

¹⁹ *Alta California* [San Francisco], Nov. 2, 1867. In his account, obviously written from memory without consulting the certificates, Brooks confused the number of shares held in each company.

hundred shares at five dollars each. The company purported to own land in Tulare County, California, and the certificate was issued from San Francisco on April 13, 1865²⁰ to Caleb Lyon. President Lincoln had wished to give Lyon the consulship at Havana in 1863, but he was not appointed.²¹ On February 2, 1864, Lincoln named him governor of Idaho Territory, and this appointment was confirmed by the Senate on February 26.²² Lyon had served as congressman from New York from 1853 to 1855. He endorsed the certificate: "I hereby assign the within stock to M[ary] Lincoln Caleb Lyon by orderly Chicago Ill Oct 8th 1865." Since the governorship of Idaho Territory paid the meager salary of \$2,500 per year,²³ and the stock was not transferred to Mrs. Lincoln until six months after her husband's death, there was no attempted bribery involved. After Lincoln's assassination funds were raised by members of the Republican Party for the relief of Mrs. Lincoln. Out of kindness Lyon may have responded to such an appeal, perhaps realizing that his stock was overvalued or worthless. Brooks was not able to dispose of the petroleum claim.²⁴

²⁰ The certificate was No. 178. The company had been incorporated on March 25, 1865, and listed its capital stock as 200,000 shares.

²¹ *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VI: 195.

²² *Ibid.*, VII: 166.

²³ *U.S. Official Register for 1865*, 15.

²⁴ For data on Noah Brooks I am indebted to Wayne C. Temple, Curator of Ethnohistory in the Illinois State Museum, Springfield, Illinois, who is writing a biography of Brooks.

LINCOLN AT BRADY'S GALLERY

EDITED BY CARL HAVERLIN

ONE of the finest eyewitness accounts of Abraham Lincoln in a photographic studio is that given by John L. Cunningham in *Three Years with the Adirondack Regiment*.¹ Cunningham, at the age of twenty-two, enrolled as first lieutenant in the 118th New York Volunteer Infantry at Plattsburg on August 20, 1862 and was mustered out as major on June 13, 1865 in Richmond, Virginia. Upon his return to private life he practiced law for a short time before joining the Glens Falls Insurance Company, which he served as secretary for twenty-three years and president for twenty-two.

On February 12, 1863, the 118th New York was assigned to provost duty in Washington and moved from Fort Ethan Allen across the Potomac and above the city, to Camp Adirondack north of the capital and near Findley Hospital. Lieutenant Cunningham was detailed to special duty at the Old Capitol Prison and put in charge of the prison guard. During this period Congressman-elect Orlando Kellogg from the regi-

¹ *Three Years with the Adirondack Regiment, 118th New York Volunteers Infantry. From the Diaries and Other Memoranda of John L. Cunningham. Printed for private circulation, Norwood, Mass., 1920.*

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ment's district came to Washington on official business and while there visited Camp Adirondack and tented with Cunningham. A few days later Kellogg, who had served with Lincoln in the Thirtieth Congress, proposed that he and Cunningham make a call on the President. Cunningham says of this visit:

We found several waiting to see the President; but Mr. Kellogg sent in his card and soon Mr. Kellogg's name was called. He followed the usher and I "toddled after."

Mr. Lincoln was sitting, his back towards the door with one leg upon his desk, or table, his trouser-leg halfway down to his knee. I first noticed his foot which seemed very large as it pointed up from the table. He partly turned his head when Mr. Kellogg was announced and reaching his right hand backward over his left shoulder took Mr. Kellogg's hand, saying, "My dear friend, I am glad to see you. Take a chair." He dropped his leg and arose, still holding Mr. Kellogg's hand. I was introduced, when he remarked to Mr. Kellogg: "I am glad to see that you know the kind of company to keep. I hardly feel respectable these days if I haven't a soldier for a companion. Citizen's dress doesn't amount to much nowadays. Is this one of your constituents?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Kellogg, introducing me, "his regiment was wholly raised in my district—they are all my boys."

I expressed my gratification at meeting my Commander-in-Chief and said to him that we called Mr. Kellogg the "Father of our Regiment." He said to Mr. Kellogg, "That is a fine honor."

We remained for at least half an hour, the President and Mr. Kellogg indulging in recollections and reminiscences of the Congress in which they had jointly served. Mr. Kellogg often laughed heartily, and while the President seemed to enjoy the things at which Mr. Kellogg laughed, he scarcely smiled. His expression was pleasant but his countenance changed very little during the conversation.

Cards kept coming in. He glanced at them and dropped them on the table as they came.

Finally Mr. Kellogg arose to go. "Don't hurry," the President said. Mr. Kellogg replied that he had taken con-

siderable of his valuable time and the cards indicated that others were waiting to see him.

The President said, picking up some of the cards: "These gentlemen will wait; they all want something. You want nothing and I have enjoyed your call and this revival of our experiences in that Congress. We thought then that our responsibilities were considerable; but compare them with what confronts us now! You, me—even this young man," putting his hand on my shoulder. "I am thankful that you will be in the next Congress. You are a friend I can depend upon, and, Kellogg, I need that sort."

Turning to me he remarked: "I count you and every soldier a friend. I trust you will survive the war and see a reunited country and be happy in the fact that you did your part to make it so," and with a hearty handshake he followed us to the door.

He seemed very serious and solemn as he bowed his tall form in a sort of parting gesture. I wish I had made a memorandum of his and Kellogg's conversation.²

Unfortunately Cunningham does not give the exact date of his meeting with the President in the studio of Mathew Brady. I think, however, it must have taken place between Monday, April 13 and Saturday, April 18, 1863, as his diary contains this note: "*Sunday, April 12.* We received orders to be prepared to move, but marching orders did not come until April 20." (Presumably the last part of this statement was interpolated by Cunningham in writing the manuscript of the book.) He starts his description of the events leading up to the meeting at Brady's studio:

Just before we left Washington and when we were under orders to be ready to move,³ Lieutenants Riggs, Carter and myself went to Brady's celebrated photograph gallery to leave our negatives from which we might order photographs when wanted. Our officers had started an exchange of photos so that each one might have one of each.

² *Ibid.*, 50-51.

³ *Ibid.*, 58, 51. Italics are the editor's.

The diary continues: "*Sunday, April 19.* We had our last dress parade at this camp

"*Monday, April 20.* Having marching orders and six days rations, we left our pleasant and comfortable camp"⁴

The words "just before we left Washington" might support a guess that the visit to the studio was nearer the end of that week than the beginning—perhaps on Friday. But this is pure conjecture. Cunningham continues:

We found no one ahead of us and while registering and getting our numbered cards, Mr. Nicolay, one of the President's secretaries, came in and said to the man in charge that the President had been asked by Mr. Brady to pose for a standing, full-length photo and that he was in his carriage outside and would come in if the matter could have immediate attention.

We waited no longer, hurried upstairs, to be in the operating rooms when the President came. Shortly after the office man appeared with President Lincoln and requested that we waive our priority in his behalf. Lieutenant Riggs replied, rather dramatically: "Certainly, our Commander-in-Chief comes first everywhere." Mr. Lincoln thanked us and said, in substance: "Soldiers come first everywhere, these days. Black-coats are at a discount in the presence of the blue and I recognize the merit of the discount."

The operator was a Frenchman, with a decided accent. He said to the President that there was considerable call for a full-length standing photograph of him. The President jokingly inquired whether this could be done with a single negative, saying: "You see, I'm six feet four in my stockings." The operator replied that it could be done all right and left to arrange for the "standing."

The President then said to us that he had lately seen a very long, or rather, a very wide landscape photograph and that he wondered if there was a camera large enough to take in such an area; but on close examination he found that it had been taken in parts and nicely joined together, and he thought, perhaps, this method might be necessary for his "full length 'landscape.' "

⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

The operator announced that he was ready and they went into the camera room, but the President stood where we could see and hear him. He asked whether he should stand as if addressing a jury "with my arm like this," stretching out his right arm. The operator came to him several times, placing the President's arms by his side, turning his head, adjusting his clothing, etc. "Just look natural," said the operator. "That is what I would like to avoid," Mr. Lincoln replied.

In the meantime each of us tried on the President's tall hat and it fitted Lieutenant Riggs finely.

The President came back to us and told us of a custom saw-mill built in the early days out in his part of the country, a very up-to-date single-gate mill, of which the owner was proud. One day a farmer brought from some distance an oak log, by ox team, to be sawed into plank and waited for the product. The log was adjusted and the saw started and all went lovely—for a while. A crash came! It proved that in the early days of this oak tree an iron spike had been driven into it and covered from sight by later growth, but the saw found it. The saw was broken and other damage done to the mill, to the grief of the owner. He shut off the water and while sorrowfully investigating the cause of the disaster, the farmer anxiously inquired, "Say, yer ain't spiled the plank, hev yer?" "Goll dern yer old log—just look what it has done to the mill!" replied the mill man.

"That camera man," continued the President, "seemed anxious about the picture; but, boys, I didn't know what might happen to the camera."

The operator came from the dark room, holding the negative up to a window, and asked the President to look at it, suggesting that it was very natural. "Yes," said the President, "that is my objection. These cameras are painfully truthful," saying this with an assumed solemnity.

Two other negatives, with little change in pose, were taken, and the President was asked if he had any choice. He replied, "They look about alike as three peas."

The operator mentioned that Secretary Seward had recently visited the gallery for a sitting and the President asked, "Did he tell you any stories?" The operator said he did not, and the President said: "I did not suppose he did,

for Mr. Seward is limited to a couple of stories which from repeating he believes are true." He then said he had recently heard a story about Mr. Seward that, whether true or not, was "a good one on him." He related it and, in substance, to the effect that during the then last presidential campaign Mr. Seward engaged to speak at a "pole raising and mass meeting" affair and was asked to make a later date because the pole couldn't be made ready for the raising; the point being that they evidently considered the raising of the pole of more consequence than Mr. Seward's presence and speech. He told the story with some animation and with bits of interspersed humor.

Mr. Lincoln seemed happy and care-free that morning and we thought he really enjoyed his hour or so at the gallery. Mr. Nicolay, who had driven away with the carriage, returned for the President. Mr. Lincoln again thanked us for our courtesy in waiving our first claim to gallery service, trusted that we would live through the war, and giving each of us a hearty handshake departed. We went to a window looking upon the street and saw him seated in quite a common looking barouche, with his secretary, and drive away—nothing appearing to indicate that this man, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of its army and navy, was other than an ordinary citizen.

He did not recognize me as having called on him some days before with Mr. Kellogg, but that was no wonder, for his old friend Kellogg absorbed his attention on that occasion, and soldiers must have come to look very much alike to him . . . I made no memorandum of this, to me, important incident, but afterwards wrote the foregoing account and submitted it to Lieutenants Riggs and Carter, and they regarded it as correct as far as it went, but far from covering the whole story.

I had seen the President often as he drove through or walked the streets of Washington, but esteemed myself largely favored by this chance meeting him face to face on these two occasions. I afterwards secured the full-length photo then taken at Brady's but lost it. I have seen very few portraits of Lincoln that were satisfactory—he appeared so different when talking than in repose.⁵

⁵ *Ibid.*, 51-54.

Being one of the countless group who regard Dr. Frederick H. Meserve as the fountainhead of information and



MESERVE 38

judgment on all photographic matters dealing with Lincoln, I have suggested to him that in light of the Cunningham account, the caption of Meserve 38 might be in succeeding editions of *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln* be changed to read "believed to have been made in April, 1863" instead of "believed to have been made in 1862." Evidencing the scrupulous care with which he works, Dr. Meserve has rendered a Scotch verdict—"Not Proved"—and there for him the matter rests. Indeed, in the light of his opinion it rests there for me also. This paper is not written in argumentation, but so that others may know of the problem. In the

light of the facts herein presented, someone may be able to prove that the photograph of the standing Lincoln which the three lieutenants saw taken in 1863 is Meserve 38. On the other hand, if that photograph is *not* Meserve 38,⁶ then there may be an undiscovered Lincoln portrait waiting to be turned up. If so, I hope it is Dr. Meserve who finds it and gives us Meserve 125.

⁶ There is a possibility, but not so great a likelihood, that the picture may have been Meserve 78. A half-dozen sittings were made then, whereas Lieutenant Cunningham's account mentions only three.

“TOOK TEA AT MRS. LINCOLN’S”

The Diary of Mrs. William M. Black

A VERY interesting diary, shedding light on Mary Todd Lincoln’s social and religious activities, is printed here for the first time. The vest-pocket size diary was kept irregularly by Mrs. William M. Black from January through May, 1852,¹ when she lived in Springfield, Illinois, while her husband was establishing himself in business in St. Louis.

After the death of her son Samuel Dale (March 24, 1852) Mrs. Black sought solace for her loss in attendance at the inquiry meetings of the First Presbyterian Church, then located at the southeast corner of Third and Washington streets in Springfield. During these meetings (April 4-18) twelve women and five men joined the church, two couples transferring their letters from Scotland. The church record has this entry:

April 13th/52. Session met and opened with prayer
Present Revd Jas Smith D D. Moderator. Elders Vanhoff
Lewis & Johns Received on examination Mrs Elizabeth
Black—Mrs Julia E. Jayne—Mrs Mary Lincoln & Miss
Nancy Sperry.² Closed with prayer

E. G JOHNS SEC PRO-TEM

¹ William Malcolm Black was born at Lee, Mass., on Sept. 17, 1821. Elizabeth Gundaker Dale was born at Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 4, 1823. They were married at Lancaster, April 2, 1846. They moved to Vandalia where William worked in a general store owned by his father William M. Black, Sr. Late in 1851 they moved to Springfield; although their street address has not been determined, they must have lived near the Lincolns, for the friends mentioned in the diary resided in that neighborhood.

Early in the summer of 1852 the Blacks moved to St. Louis and lived there until they died, William on Jan. 11, 1888 and Elizabeth on Dec. 17, 1902. Both are buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. Their two oldest children, Mary Jane and William James, were born in Vandalia. The birth and death of their third child Samuel Dale (Jan. 6-March 24, 1852) are recorded in the diary.

George Nelson Black (1833-1908), brother of William Black, preceded him to Vandalia and to Springfield, living in the latter city from 1850 until his death. He was a founder and director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

² The Rev. James Smith (1801-1871) was installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in April, 1849, following the resignation of its founder and



WILLIAM M. BLACK



MRS. WILLIAM M. BLACK

The April 15 date given in the diary for Mrs. Black's admission to the church may be the date on which she publicly appeared before the congregation.

JANUARY

Thursday, 1. Took tea at Mrs. Lincoln's

Tuesday, 6. Samuel Dale Black was born

FEBRUARY

Monday, 9. Went out shopping—got a bonnet for baby—silver snuffers & tray

Wednesday, 11 Spent the evening at Mrs. Lincoln[s]

first pastor, John G. Bergen. He preached Eddie Lincoln's funeral sermon Feb. 2, 1850. During the Civil War Lincoln appointed him consul to Dundee, Scotland. Of the elders, Henry Vanhoff was a carriage manufacturer in partnership with his brother-in-law Obed Lewis, and trustee of the Presbyterian parochial school in 1850; Thomas Lewis was a partner in a number of Springfield business enterprises and treasurer of the church for fifty years; and Edmund G. Johns, house painter and glazier, was also active in church and civic work.

Julia E. (Wetherbee) Jayne was the wife of Dr. William Jayne, son of the pioneer physician Gershom Jayne. Nancy Sperry was a milliner who lived at the residence of Henry Vanhoff.

Saturday, 14. Took the babe and made a short visit to Mrs. Morse³

Sunday, 15. Wen[t] to church this evening

Tuesday, 17. William came to see us

Monday, 23. William left this morning

Tuesday, 24. Wrote to Aunt Harriet & the girls went in the evening to see the panorama⁴

Thursday, 26. Took Mary and the baby and went to Mrs. Lincoln's—called on Mrs. Amos⁵

Saturday, 28. Very cold, windy, snowy morning went to Mrs. Spriggs's⁶—returned before dinner

MARCH

Friday, 5. Mary, Dale, and I spent the afternoon with Mrs. Lincoln

Saturday, 6. Called at Mrs. Dean's, Mrs. Walker's and Mrs. Billson's⁷

Monday, 8. Went in the evening to the Baptist Church with Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Reman[n]⁸—laughed all the way home at Mrs. L. and Dr. Smith . . .

Wednesday, 10. Went to Mrs. Lincoln's with Mary and the baby. . .

Wednesday, 24. Samuel Dale Black died

Thursday, 25. William came

³ Probably Mrs. James M. Morse (nee Emma M. Holton), who lived on the southwest corner of Market (now Capitol Avenue) and Ninth streets, two blocks from the Lincoln residence.

⁴ Blair's Panorama exhibited at the courthouse on the southeast corner of Sixth and Washington streets. Its advertisement in the *Illinois Daily Journal* of Feb. 24, 1852, read: "GRAND GIFT GALA,/ And Festival of Golden Presents!/ In connection with the exhibition of/ BLAIR'S PANORAMA,/ At the Court House on Tuesday Evening,/ February 24th./ TICKETS limited to 500, and only 50 cents each. Jewelry, consisting of Gold Watches, Pencils, Bracelets, Rings, Pins, &c., valued at two hundred dollars, will be distributed among the audience free of charge. Doors open at half past six o'clock."

⁵ Mrs. Joshua F. Amos (Julia Ann Hay), listed in the 1855-1856 Springfield directory as living on "Market near 8th," one block north of the Lincolns.

⁶ Mrs. John C. (Julia Ann) Sprigg, who lived in the block south of the Lincolns. John Sprigg was elected to the board of trustees of the First Presbyterian Church along with Thomas Lewis, John Williams, Elijah Iles and Goyn A. Sutton on Jan. 13, 1852. He died on Aug. 24 of the same year.

⁷ Mrs. Frederick L. Dean (Eighth Street near Jackson) and Mrs. H. Billson were Springfield teachers. Mrs. Walker has not been identified.

⁸ Mrs. Henry C. Remann (Mary Black, sister of William M.) lived on Market Street between Eighth and Ninth, a block north and around the corner east from the Lincolns. It was to her son Henry that Willie Lincoln wrote the letter about "me and father" published on page 66 of the Spring, 1954 issue of this *Journal*. The *Illinois Daily Journal* of March 6 announced: "There will be preaching at the Baptist church every night this week."

Friday, 26. The baby was buried at 10 oc[lo]ck

Sunday, 28. Went to church this evening with William—heard Mr. Anderson of St. Louis⁹

Monday, 29. William left us, and I was cast into the very depths of despair—I felt as though I could not live longer seperated from him—in bitter anguish I cried unto the Lord to prepare me for death & then take me from this world of suffering. Went to church this morning and evening—

Tuesday 30. On Tuesday morning I called for Mrs. Sprigg to go with me to the prayer meeting—found I was too late and did not go—went to church this evening

Wednesday, 31. Went this morning to the prayer and inquiry meeting—asked Dr. Smith to call—he did so and I had a long conversation with him—went to church in the evening . . .

APRIL

Saturday, 3. Went to the prayer and inquiry meeting this morning—Dr. Todd¹⁰ brought me home in his buggy—went to church in the evening

Sunday, 4. Went to prayer meeting & church this evening—attended prayer & inquiry meeting in the afternoon. Mr. T. Lewis¹¹ drove me home and called for us in the evening . . .

Thursday, 8. Continue to attend the meetings . . .

Thursday, 15. Attended the meeting this morning—four more were added to the church.

Saturday, 17. I took Mary and Willie to church to day, and had them baptized by Dr. Smith . . .

Friday, 30. Was very anxious to attend the prayer meeting this evening but was busy all day assisting Mrs. Remann and was too much fatigued to walk so far—

MAY

Saturday, 1. Whilst reading the bible at about 12 oclock when all the family were asleep I was startled by a person

⁹ The Rev. S. J. P. Anderson, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, addressed the Springfield Lyceum and Library Association at the First Presbyterian Church on March 25 on "The Unity of the Races." *Ibid.*, March 25, 1852.

¹⁰ Dr. John Todd (1787-1865), uncle of Mrs. Lincoln.

¹¹ Thomas Lewis (see above, note 2) lived on "Mason foot of 8th," seven blocks north of the Lincolns.

attempting to open the door—I sprang to lock it when William's well known voice greeted my ear and my fear was turned into joy . . .

Monday, 3. Went shopping accompanied by William and Mrs. Remann my devotions are cold and formal this is my gratitude to God for permitting me to see my dear husband again—Oh! I fear I still love the creature too much and the creator too little William left this morning—still cold and lifeless. Mrs. Lincoln insisted on our coming down in the evening—we did so, and found Dr. Smith there he prayed with us before leaving

Wednesday, 5. Took my work and went down to Mrs. Lincoln's awhile—then went with Mrs. Remann to call on Mrs. Burnap, Mrs. Smith, Miss Dickey and Mrs. Ives—¹²

Thursday, 6. Took my children and spent the afternoon with Mrs. Lincoln after she sent a second message for me. Do I really love Jesus or do I not? Oh! that I could see my heart as God sees it—

Friday, 7. Went this afternoon to the dentist's with Mrs. R[emann]. she had seven teeth extracted—called on Mrs. Lincoln—found her in better spirits—went to prayer meeting in the evening . . .

Sunday, 9. Dared not venture out in the rain with my bad cough read in the "Memoir of McCheyne" and "Baxter's saint[s] rest." Struggled and prayed against this listless, languid drowsy feeling . . .

Sunday, 16. Attended church morning and evening—heard Mr. Springer¹³

Monday, 17. Spent the day at Mrs. Sprigg attended the

¹²Mrs. John Burnap lived (1855-1856) at the corner of Washington and Tenth streets, six blocks from the Lincolns. Miss R. D. Dickey boarded at the home of M. L. DeVore, on Fifth Street near Cook, about five blocks from the Lincolns. Mrs. John G. Ives lived on the north side of Market between Seventh and Eighth streets, a block and a half from the Lincolns. Mrs. Smith was probably the pastor's wife.

¹³The Rev. Francis Springer, Lutheran minister and president of Illinois State University, which had opened in March at Springfield after moving from Hillsboro, where it had been known as the Literary and Theological Institute of the Lutheran Church in the Far West. Robert Todd Lincoln attended I.S.U. before moving on to Phillips Exeter and Harvard. Reminiscences of Springer by Amos Miller appeared in this *Journal*, April-July, 1922 (Vol. XV, 513-18), and an article by Harry Evjen on I.S.U. in the March, 1938 issue (Vol. XXXI, 54-71). Carthage College traces its ancestry back through I.S.U. and the Literary and Theological Institute (Hillsboro College); the buildings of I.S.U. were taken over by Concordia Theological Seminary.

female prayer meeting at Dr. Jayne's¹⁴ in the afternoon—declined taking part . . .

DECEMBER

Sunday, 5. United with the church in St. Louis . . .

When the Lincoln's fourth and last son Thomas "Tad," born April 4, 1853, was five and a half months old his mother wrote to Mrs. Black, then in St. Louis, requesting her to shop for a "white fur hat" for him, and describing in great detail the brown satin bonnet she would like made for herself. The original of the letter given below and the diary quoted above belong to Malcolm A. Black, Lemay, Missouri, a grandson of Mrs. Black:

SPRINGFIELD SEP 17TH. [1853]

MY DEAR MRS BLACK—

Mrs Remann sent me word to day, that your husband was here, & would leave in the morning for St. Louis. May I trouble you to undertake the purchase of a white fur hat, for a boy of 6 months, I presume ere this, the fall styles have been received, I should like white trimmings & white feather, if you find any to your taste, of the prettiest quality. Would you be kind enough also, to have me a drawn satin bonnet made of this brown, lined with white, I have some small brown feathers for the outside, also inside trimming, which I suppose is not necessary to send down, please have it made to *your* taste, if fine black lace, will be used this fall, perhaps *that* would be pretty with it, for the outside. I can put the feathers & flowers inside my self. I send you a string for the size of the hat,—if I am not too troublesome, may I have them about the first of October? I should think a pretty hat, would cost about four dollars, but if more, I do not object, as it will *last all* my boys.

We would be much pleased to see you in Springfield, it appears a long time, since you left. Will you excuse this hasty scrawl & believe me yours truly

MARY LINCOLN

¹⁴ Dr. William Jayne, whose wife joined the church at the same time as Mrs. Black, lived on the southwest corner of Fourth and Madison streets, six blocks north and four blocks west of the Lincolns. His father Dr. Gershom Jayne lived on the northeast corner of Enos Avenue and Fifth Street, fourteen blocks from the Lincolns.

THE LINCOLNS GO SHOPPING

EDITED BY HARRY E. PRATT

IN Springfield a century ago much of the retail business was on a bookkeeping basis. Abraham Lincoln had accounts at several stores, and recently records of Irwin & Co., and J. Bunn & Co., were presented to the Illinois State Historical Library.¹

LINCOLN'S ACCOUNT AT JOHN IRWIN & Co., 1842-1853

Approximately three hundred of Abraham and Mary Lincoln's store purchases and financial transactions are printed below from three revealing journals and a ledger of John Irwin & Company and Robert Irwin & Company, 1842-1853. They were found by James T. Hickey among the old records of the Springfield Marine and Fire Insurance Company, predecessor of the Springfield Marine Bank, and placed in the Historical Library by George W. Bunn, Jr., president of the bank. The company sold a few insurance policies in 1851, but was soon functioning as a bank and is still in business on the same site, the oldest bank in Illinois. Robert Irwin was its first secretary.

The partnership of John Williams and Robert Irwin was dissolved in 1837, each taking a new partner. Robert and John Irwin opened their store on April 1. The *Sangamo Journal* of September 9, 1842 announced that Williams had bought out the entire stock of Robert Irwin & Co. By May, 1843 the

¹ Three Lincoln store accounts of the 1850's were printed in the appendix to Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, 1943), 145-61.

firm was known as John Irwin & Co., with Williams owning a one-third interest until the end of August, 1845. At the end of 1848 Robert Irwin bought out John's interest for \$4,000 and continued the business under his own name, while John formed a partnership with William B. Corneau.

Lincoln's first recorded purchase was a pair of martin-gales on December 12, 1842, five weeks after his wedding. He is not known to have owned a pair of high-spirited horses at that time, so the purchase may have been made for someone else. On May 16, 1843 his largest single day's purchase at Irwin's was made. The \$45.37 total included \$32.50 for cloth, \$3.87 for trimmings and \$9 to tailor Benjamin R. Biddle for making a suit for Mr. Lincoln. The suiting is described as two yards of superior black cloth at \$11 a yard, and three yards of cassimere, a medium-weight woolen cloth of soft texture, at \$3.50. Six months later Lincoln had a second suit made from two and three-fourths yards of beaver cloth (a heavy fabric of felted wool) and three yards of cassimere. More expensive trimmings were used in this suit. As Lincoln had recently returned from his fall trip around the Eighth Judicial Circuit and was busy in the second week of the fall term of the Sangamon Circuit Court, he was available for fittings. On December 30, 1843 his account was charged with \$9.50, and Biddle probably was paid in cash by Irwin & Co.

The purchase of a wood saw and frame on November 21, 1843 may indicate the date the Lincolns moved from the Globe Tavern, where the cries of four-month-old Robert reputedly disturbed the other lodgers. They rented a small house on the east side of Fourth Street near the middle of the block between Adams and Monroe streets, around the corner from the Globe. Lincoln bought "1 pr Childs shoes" on October 5, 1844—probably Robert's first hard-soled ones, as he was then fourteen months old.

Mary Todd Lincoln had the reputation of being a fine seamstress, and thirty yards of calico purchased on July 3,

1844, two months after the Lincolns moved into their own home at Eighth and Jackson streets, may have been made into house dresses or window curtains. Late summer purchases of muslin, cambric, gimp, whalebones and corset lace indicate Mary's home manufacture of garments.

From Irwin's spring shipment of goods from the East in 1845 Mrs. Lincoln got a fine "Neapolitan Bonnet" for \$7.50 (the most expensive bonnet charged in the Irwin journal), three yards of "Bonnet Ribbon," and "1 Parasol" for \$3.50. Large purchases of white flannel and bleach shirting late in 1845 were made in preparation for the birth of the Lincoln's son Edward Baker Lincoln on March 10, 1846. Layettes were unobtainable in the Springfield stores.

Mrs. Lincoln purchased, on December 31, 1846, two of the popular books of the day on homemaking, both by Eliza Leslie (1787-1858): *Directions for Cookery in Its Various Branches* (20th edition, Philadelphia, 1844, 511 pages with illustrations) and *The House Book: or, a Manual of Domestic Economy for Town and Country* (8th edition, 1845, 436 pages). These books were available for ready reference by Mrs. Lincoln and the "help."

Suspenders for Abraham were purchased approximately every eight months. The variation in price from 50 cents to \$1.25 may indicate one pair for Sunday wear only. The only food items the Lincolns purchased of Irwin & Co. were loaf sugar and gunpowder tea.

Two fire screens charged on May 21, 1844 were probably for the parlor and sitting room in their new house. Mary Lincoln bought lamps for the house on April 16, 1844, and occasionally thereafter replaced the glass shades at a cost of \$1.50. Evidently the Lincolns no longer used candles exclusively, although candles were purchased from J. Bunn & Co. as late as 1849.

The Irwin store, which had one of the few iron safes in Springfield, performed some of the functions of a bank (banks

were in disrepute and the southern half of the state opposed all banking). Several of Lincoln's transactions were of that nature. On June 21, 1843 he deposited \$175 with them, which may have been fees from Logan & Lincoln's cases in the United States Circuit Court which opened on June 12 in Springfield. At the end of the year his account was credited with \$10.50 for six months' interest on the \$175 at twelve per cent. Cash deposits of \$35 and \$15 were made to his account in December, and the year closed with Lincoln's account having a credit of \$134.30.

On January 16, 1844 Lincoln drew up a contract to purchase from the Rev. Charles Dresser the house known today as the Lincoln Home. His deposits of \$61.50 and \$588 on February 3 and his credit balance of \$132.83 gave him a credit at Irwin's of \$782.33. He withdrew \$750 and paid it to Dresser on February 5, 1844. Dresser's receipt, also signed by Seth M. Tinsley, allowed Lincoln twelve per cent on the money until the transaction was completed.

Although it has been generally understood that Lincoln received one-third of the fees in the partnership of Logan & Lincoln (1841-1844), fees credited to Lincoln's account at Irwin's on March 6, August 12 and September 11, 1844 state clearly that he received one-half of these fees. The papers filed in the estate of William G. Drennan show a payment of \$100 to Logan & Lincoln, and the latter's account is credited with \$50 on August 12, 1844. The percentage may have been altered from one-third to one-half in the last year of the partnership. Lincoln probably used the currycomb which he bought on September 23, 1845 on his horse in the small barn which stood on the rear of their lot.

In 1846 the Lincolns bought only nine items totaling \$5.71—none before August 31—from Irwin's, and no payments were made. Purchases in 1847 were also very light, the only sizable one being "21½ yds Black Cloth" at \$6.00 a yard and \$2.62 worth of coat trimmings, doubtless for a new coat for

Mr. Lincoln. Lincoln balanced his account on October 7, 1847, eighteen days before the family started for Lexington, Kentucky, en route to Washington. He paid \$28.74 in cash, and was credited with \$9 interest on \$150 which he had loaned them for a year at six per cent.

On his arrival in Washington, Congressman Lincoln drew \$1,300.80 travel expense. He placed \$500 with Siter, Price & Co. of 133 High Street, Philadelphia. They transferred it to Irwin & Co., who paid Lincoln's 1847 taxes of \$14.52 on his house and collected six months' rent at \$90 a year. Cornelius Ludlum paid \$22.50 for the first three months (November, 1847-January, 1848) on February 1, 1848. The second three months' rent was paid to Irwin & Co. on August 4 by Mason Brayman, a Springfield attorney. Later payments were made directly to Lincoln and do not show on the Irwin account. Four payments are recorded on the lease.

Levi Davis, local attorney and state auditor 1835-1841, signed a sixty-day note with Lincoln as co-signer for \$200 on October 14, 1844 payable to Dr. James Spence, a Springfield dentist. The \$16 interest payment made on June 18, 1845 does not appear on the Irwin account. Dr. Spence died in October, 1845. His estate was administered by Allen Francis, to whom Lincoln paid \$272—the principal plus twelve per cent interest—on June 24, 1848.

The Lincoln family returned to Springfield early in October, 1848; he then set off immediately on a month's campaign in behalf of Zachary Taylor's candidacy for President. Ten days after the election Irwin & Co. credited Lincoln's account with interest in the amount of \$23.23, and on November 22 the firm gave him its note for \$355 to balance the account. Thirty dollars paid by Ben Giger was credited to Lincoln's account the following day and withdrawn by Mrs. Lincoln on December 30. No further banking transactions are recorded in the books in the Library, although a few purchases of merchandise continue until 1852 and the account was settled in 1853.

A. LINCOLN'S ACCOUNT AT JOHN IRWIN & Co.
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, 1842-1853

			[Dr]	[Cr]
1842				
Dec. 12	1 pr Martingales		\$ 2.00	
1843				
May 16	2 yds Sup[erior] Blk Cloth @ 11\$	\$ 22.00		
	3 yds Cassime[re] @ 3.50	10.50		
	Trimmings	3.87		
	Pd [Benjamin R.] Biddle Making [Suit]	9.00	45.37	
May 19	1 Leghorn Hat		1.50	
May 29	1 Sattin Stock		2.00	
June 1	1 Tooth Brush	.25		
	1/3 yd Serge pr Biddle	.50	.75	
June 21	Abraham Lincoln For this Am't.			\$175.00
Oct. 16	1 pr. shoes pr Girl			1.00
Oct. 20	2¼ yds Check	.56		
	6 yds calico	.75		
	Domestic & Buttons	.13		
	1 Paper Tacks	.12		
	1 pr. Blk Lambs Wool Hose	.75	2.31	
Oct. 23	Domestic & Spool Cotton		.50	
Oct. 30	1 pr. Mitts		.13	
Nov. 2	1 pr. Ladies Walking Shoes		1.50	
Nov. 6	1 pr. Gloves		.25	
Nov. 21	Am[ount] pd order to J[ames]. L. Grant	5.00		
	1 Wood Saw & frame	1.25	6.25	
Nov. 22	2¾ yds. Beaver Cloth @ 4.50	12.38		
	3 yds. Mixd. Cassimere	2.50	7.50	
	Trimmings for Coat & Pants	5.68	25.56	
Nov. 28	6 yds. Twild. Cotton		.75	
Dec. 7	7 yds. Calico pr Girl @ 12½		.88	
Dec. 18	For Coat Binding pr Biddle		.70	
	A. Lincoln For This Amt.			\$ 35.00
Dec. 27	Bala[nce] Bld. Domestic pr Wife	.25		
Dec. 30	For Am[t] Recd. of Watts			15.00
	For 6 mo Interest—\$175			10.50
	For pd Biddle's a/c		9.50	

1844				
Feb. 2	5½ yds. Calico @ 6¼	.34		
Feb. 3	A. Lincoln For this Amt.		61.50	
	Robert Irwin & Co Dr to A Lincoln	588.00		
	For Note & Int.		588.00	
Feb. 5	For Amt. pd. Mr. Dresser	750.00		
Feb. 12	1 pr. Childs Socks	.13		
Feb. 15	Nails pr Mrs. Mosely	1.00		
Feb. 17	For Amt. pd. Self	15.00		
Mar. 6	A. Lincoln ½ fees for collecting [J. S. Martin]		9.25	
Mar. 9	1 pr. Woolen Mittens	.25		
Apr. 6	Abraham Lincoln For this Amt.	46.50		
Apr. 16	For Balance on Lamps	3.75		
Arp. 26	For Balance on a/c	.50		
	1 spade	1.00	1.50	
May 21	2 Fire Screens 50		1.00	
June 5	for amount on a/c			10.00
June 25	1 Stock	1.25		
	2½ yds Tweed Cloth pr Biddle 2.00	5.00		
	Coat Trimming	1.75	8.00	
July 3	30 yds Calico 2 ps per Lady @ 8	2.40		
Aug. 7	paid Jacob Lewis pr Vo[ucher].	7.00		
Aug. 12	A Lincoln for ½ of fee from [Wm. G.] Drennan [Estate]		50.00	
Aug. 16	3 paper Needles per Lady	.37		
Aug. 18	1 Looking Glass	1.50		
	1 Dressing comb	.19		
	8 yds Crash	1.00		
	10 yds Muslin Brilliant 90	9.00	11.69	
Aug. 23	3 yds Cold Cambric 12½	.38		
	1 yd Holland	.25		
	1 doz Whalebones @	.25		
	Thread & Hooks & Eyes	.25		
	1 ps Linen Tape	.06	1.19	
Aug. 26	6 yds Gimp	.38		
	1 Corset Lace	.12	50	
Sept. 6	1 yd Cambric	.12		
	4 yds Gimp	.25	.37	
Sept. 11	A Lincoln for his ½ of fee [Robert Irwin v. James Bell <i>et al.</i>]		5.00	

1844 (cont.)				
Sept. 27	Tapes & Buttons			.35
Sept. 28	1 pr Shovel & Tongs			1.25
Sept. 30	1 yd Cambric pr Girl			.13
Oct. 5	1 pr Childs shoes			.38
Oct. 10	3 yds Domestic Lady	.37		
	3 spools	.25		
	1 yd White Flannel "	.38		
	1 pr Blk Hose "	.25		
	Tape "	.06	1.31	
Oct. 17	3¾ yds Ticking 2 ps Lady	1.25		
	8½ yds Calico 20 "	1.70		
	6 yds White Flannel 75 Self	4.50		
	1 doz Pearl Buttons	.12	7.57	
Oct. 30	Tapes pr Girl			.13
Nov. 4	1 pr Kid Slippers	1.25		
	1 Comb	.12	1.37	
Nov. 12	6¾ lb Loaf Sugar 18 ¾	1.25		
	½ lb G[un] P[owder] Tea	.75	2.00	
Nov. 21	4 yds Domestic 10	.40		
	1 yd Ribbon	.06		
	⅞ yd Blk Nett Ribbon & Whale-bone	.56	1.02	
Dec. 2	15 lb 8d Nails pr Robinson 8	1.20		
	21 lb Feathers 25	5.25	6.45	
Dec. 10	4 yds Gimp order 6¼			.25
Dec. 16	A Lincoln for fee in [Hiram] Penny Case			
Dec. 27	For amount paid Biddle		3.50	5.00
1845				
Jan. 10	½ lb Tea	.75		
	1 pr Childs Shoes	.63	1.38	
Jan. 11	1 yd Bleach Shirting	.16		
	1 spool	.06		
	1 paper pins	.12		
	1 Bunch Flowers	.25	.59	
Jan. 18	2 doz Pearl Buttons	.25		
	Domestic	.08		
	1 Sett Cups & Saucers	.75		
	2 preserve Dishes 25	.50	1.58	

1845 (cont.)

Feb.	3	3 yds Irish Linen Lady	87½	2.63	
		16 yds Cotton	" 12½	2.00	
		1 pr Side Combs	"	.50	5.13
				<hr/>	
Feb.	10	Trimmings pr Biddle			3.12
Feb.	11	½ lb G P Tea		.75	
Feb.	15	1 pr Scissors		.50	
Feb.	19	1 pr Kid slippers		1.25	
Mar.	1	¼ lb G P Tea		.37	
Mar.	5	½ lb G P Tea		.75	
Mar.	31	2 lines 187½		.38	
		1½ lb Nails		.12	.50
				<hr/>	
Apr.	7	½ lb G P Tea			.75
Apr.	13	4¾ yds Gingham	31¼	1.50	
		2½ yds Gingham	37 1/2	.94	
		1 Neapolitan Bonnet		7.50	
		3 yds Bonnet Ribbon	25	.75	
		1 Parasol		3.50	
		Lamp Shade		1.00	15.19
				<hr/>	
Apr.	21	goods pr Bill pr Lady			6.36
Apr.	23	1 yd Lawn pr Girl			.50
Apr.	29	½ lb G P Tea		.75	
		Whalebones & Hooks & Eyes		.31	1.06
				<hr/>	
May	20	9 yds Calico	18¾	1.69	
		2 Table Cloths	75	1.50	3.19
				<hr/>	
May	22	1 Cotton Umbrella			1.00
July	5	A Lincoln for ½ of T[homas]			
		Simpson note			10.00
July	15	1 paper Tacks		.12	
July	17	Henry Dresser Dr. to A Lincoln		25.00	
		For am't paid for Dunlap pr W Butler			25.00
Aug.	30	1 Cloth Brush		.87	
Sept.	10	⅞ yd White Flannel	75	.66	
		amt paid Man Mrs. Ls order		.37	1.03
				<hr/>	
Sept.	22	A Lincoln for ½ of Millers order			5.00
Sept.	23	1 Curry Comb		.25	
Oct.	1	6 yds Domestic pd Lady		1.00	
		2 spools	" "	.13	1.13
				<hr/>	
Oct.	6	goods pr Bill pr Lady			2.06

1845 (cont.)

Oct. 7	2¼ yds Flannel pr Lady	62½	1.41	
	1 Cook Knife		.50	
	Needles		.37	
	paid Man per order		.25	2.53
Oct. 10	goods pr Bill pr Lady			5.22
Oct. 15	cloak Trimmings pr Biddle			2.38
Oct. 16	1½ lbs Batting 12 1/2			.19
Oct. 17	3 yds Brown Holland Lady		.75	
	1 yd Green Barage "		.75	1.50
Nov. 3	1 pr Suspenders			1.00
Nov. 4	¾ yd Swiss Muslin	1.00	.37	
	1 pr Shoes		.75	
	2 doz Silk Buttons	31¼	.63	1.75
Nov. 5	2½ yds Cambric 12 1/2			.31
Nov. 7	2 doz Silk Buttons		.50	
	3 Sk[eins] Silk		.19	
	1 yd Holland		.25	
	1¼ yd Cambric		.15	1.09
Nov. 18	1 pr Scissors			.50
Nov. 20	1 skein Silk		.06	
	goods pr Bill pr Lady		6.89	6.95
Nov. 23	4 yds Green Cambric order		.50	
	Tacks & Tape "		.19	.69
Dec. 13	4½ yds White Flannel	75	3.37	
	8¼ yds White Flannel	50	4.13	
	8 yds White Ribbon	6¼	.50	8.00
Dec. 20	4 yds Gingham	2 ps	1.50	
	2 yds Calico		.38	
	2 yds Jaconett Edging		.50	
	¼ yd Bishop Lawn		.25	
	20 yds Bleach Shirting	14	2.80	5.43
Dec. 24	Remnant Linen		1.31	
	Buttons		.06	1.37
Dec. 31	A Lincoln on a/c			11.99
	A Lincoln for N[athaniel] Hays note			50.00

1846			
Aug. 31	1 Bucket	.25	
	1 pr Suspenders	.50	.75
<hr/>			
Oct. 28	2¼ yds DeLain 62½	1.41	
	1 doz Fancy Buttons	.19	
	1 Skein Silk	.06	1.66
<hr/>			
Nov. 4	3/16 yd Muslin deLain		.13
Dec. 31	Miss Leslies Cookery	.87	
	Miss Leslies Housekeeper	.80	
	Lamp Shades	1.50	3.17
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1847			
Mar. 30	Collar & Silk pr wife		.50
Apr. 30	A Lincoln Dr to Joel Johnson		10.00
	For this amount assumed		10.00
June 19	Bills Receivable Dr to A Lincoln for ½ of G Smiths note		7.50
June 23	2½ yds Black Cloth 6.00	15.00	
	Coat Trimmings	2.62	17.62
<hr/>			
June 29	1 pr Suspenders		1.25
Aug. 3	7 doz Pearl Button[s]	.70	
	4 pc Tape	.19	
	1 Remnant Linen	.50	1.39
<hr/>			
Aug. 12	Pearl Buttons & Needles		.30
Aug. 30	⅝ yd Black Silk 75	.47	
	2¼ yd Black Silk Fringe 12½	.28	.75
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Sept. 3	1 pr Buskins		1.50
Sept. 18	2¼ yds Silk Fringe	.28	
	3 doz Buttons	.38	.66
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Sept. 28	Profit & Loss Dr to A Lincoln		9.00
	For 1 years Interest on \$150.00		9.00
Sept. 30	8 yds Gingham	3.00	
	¾ yd Blk Silk	.56	
	2 pr Spun Silk Hose	2.00	5.56
<hr/>			
Oct. 7	Abraham Lincoln in full of a/c		28.74
1848			
Jan. 3	Siter Price & Co Dr to A Lincoln	500.00	
Jan. 7	For amount paid them		500.00
Feb. 2	A Lincoln paid Taxes	14.52	

1848 (*cont.*)

Feb. 3	A Lincoln 3 mo. Rent of [Cornelius] Ludlum		22.50
June 7	Abraham Lincoln of D[avid] New-som		31.25
June 24	Abraham Lincoln pd A[llen] Francis Note & Interest	272.00	
July 17	Abraham Lincoln of S T Logan		50.00
Aug. 1	A Lincoln for Rent [from Mason Brayman] to April 30th 1 qr.		22.50
Oct. 12	1 pr Kid Slippers per Lady	1.25	
Oct. 16	1 Umbrella	.75	
Oct. 27	1 pr Suspenders	.75	
Nov. 2	10 yds Check 22½	2.25	
	1¾ yds Linen Check 37½	.55	2.80
Nov. 10	1 pr Brass candlesticks	1.50	
Nov. 16	Abraham Lincoln for Interest due him		23.23
	A Lincoln To Cash from drawer	.91	
Nov. 22	A Lincoln Dr to Bills Payable	355.00	
	For our Note for Balance due him		355.00
Nov. 23	A Lincoln For amount [received] of Ben Giger		30.00
Nov. 28	1 pr Gaiters	1.50	
	½ yd white crape	.37	1.87
Dec. 5	1 Large Box & drayage per Butler	.60	
Dec. 22	paid Butler for Load Wood	1.75	
Dec. 30	A Lincoln pr Lady	30.00	
	A Lincoln for Bal of a/c		4.22

1849

Jan. 1	Abraham Lincoln [Dr. to Robert Irwin] For Balance a/c to J. Irwin & Co.		4.22
Feb. 12*	Bills Payable Dr. to Cash		
	Paid B[ela] C. Webster for Lincoln	27.00	
Feb. 21	2 yds Check @ 25	.50	
Feb. 28	1 " ditto	.25	
Mar. 14*	Paid Lincoln for Keeling	21.00	
Apr. 18	8 ps Paper & Bordering @ 37½	3.00	
	1 ps Paper & Bordering	.63	
	30 yds. Oil Bordering @ 8	2.40	6.03

* These entries appear in the Day Book but not in the Ledger.

1849 (*cont.*)

May 7	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds Green Morine [Moreen]		
	@ 40	2.70	
	1 ps Binding	.15	2.85
May 25	2 1/3 yds Green Morine	.94	
	1 ps Binding	.15	
	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ yd White Flannel	1.25	
	1 ps Tape	.05	2.39
May 26	1/2 yd Flannel		.38
June 12*	Pd Mrs Lincoln on a/c net	10.00	
June 22	1/4 lb Tea		.37
July 26	1 Scythe & Sneath [Snath]		1.75
Aug. 11*	Pd for Giger	30.00	
	Pd for Butler	7.50	
Aug. 20	1 $\frac{5}{8}$ yd. Black Silk @ 1.50	2.44	
	pd for Colouring in Phi[l]ad[elphi]a	2.50	4.94
Sept. 17	1 Umbrella		.75
Sept. 21	1 pr Blk Cot[ton] Hose	.38	
	1 Basket	1.00	1.38
Oct. 4	1 pr Childs Boots		1.75
Dec. 19	Bills Payable For my note to A. Lincoln		250.00
	A. Lincoln Bal a/c		27.50
Dec. 20*	Sundries Dr. to Cash		
	Bills Payable pd A. Lincoln	259.50	
	Profit & Loss A. Lincoln	19.93	279.43

1850

May 4	1/2 doz Linen Braid	.19	
	Black Thread	.20	.39
Oct. 2	1 cap	1.00	
	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ yd Ribbon	.45	1.45
Nov. 26	1 Umbrella		1.25
Dec. 31	A. Lincoln For Balance a/c		3.09
	Profit & Loss for Amt pd A Lincoln	15.00	

1851

Feb. 12	1 lb Nails	.07	
June 21	1 pr Childs Shoes	.75	
July 1	1 Pocket Knife	1.25	
July 7	1 pr Suspenders	.50	

1851 (cont.)

Nov. 4	Bills Payable For pd A Lincoln	250.00	
	Profit & Loss For pd Int to A Lincoln	35.30	
Nov. 6	1 Bonnett pr Wife	2.00	
Nov. 20	pd subscription	5.00	
Nov. 29	A. Lincoln		9.57
1852			
Jan. 1	2 ps. Border pr [Edmund G.] Johns	.50	
Jan. 16	1 pr Boys Boots	1.75	
	2¾ yd Blk Silk Nett @ 75	.56	2.31
June 21	Cash	.50	
1853			
Dec. 31	A Lincoln for amt a/c		3.31

LEDGER OF LINCOLN'S ACCOUNT AT JOHN IRWIN & CO., 1843-1853

Dr.		ABRAHAM LINCOLN				Cr.	
1843							
May	8	To Merchandise	\$	2.00	June 21	By Cash	\$175.00
	16	"		48.87	Dec. 18	"	35.00
June	1	"		.75	30	"	15.00
Oct.	16	"		3.94	30	By Profit & Loss	10.50
Nov.	2	"		1.75			
	21	"		32.56			\$235.50
Dec.	8	"		.88			
	18	"		.70			
	27	"		.25			
	30	"		9.50			
	30	To Balance		134.30			
				\$235.50			

1844					
Feb. 2	To Merchandise	\$ 1.47	Jan. 1	By Balance	\$134.30
3	To Cash	765.00	Feb. 3	By Cash	61.50
Mar. 9	To Merchandise	.25	3	By R. Irwin & Co.	588.00
Apr. 6	To Cash	46.50	Mar. 6	By J. S. Martin	9.25
15	To Merchandise	5.25	June 5	By Cash	10.00
May 21	"	1.00	Aug. 6	"	50.00
June 25	"	8.00	Sept. 11	By Saunders Farm	5.00
July 2	"	2.40	Dec. 1	By R. Irwin & Co.	5.00
Aug. 8	"	7.37	31	By Balance	13.65
18	"	13.38			
Sept. 6	"	2.10			\$876.70
Oct. 5	"	9.39			
Nov. 4	"	4.39			
Dec. 2	"	6.70			
27	"	3.50			
		\$876.70			

Dr.			1845			Cr.
Jan. 1	To Balance	\$	13.65	July 5	By Bills Receivable	\$ 10.00
Jan. 10	To Merchandise		3.55			
Feb. 3	"		10.75	17	By Henry Dresser	25.00
Mar. 1	"		1.62	Sept. 10	By Merchandise	5.00
Apr. 7	"		15.94	Dec. 31	By Cash	11.99
21	"		7.92	31	By Bills Receivable	50.00
May 20	"		4.19			
July 15	"		.12			<u>\$101.99</u>
Aug. 20	"		.87			
Sept. 10	"		1.28			
Oct. 1	"		5.72			
10	"		9.10			
16	"		.19			
Nov. 3	"		4.65			
20	"		7.64			
Dec. 13	"		8.00			
20	"		6.80			
			<u>\$101.99</u>			

			1846			
Aug. 31	To Merchandise	\$.75			
Oct. 28	"		1.66			
Nov. 4	"		.13			
Dec. 31	"		3.17			
			<u>\$ 45.24</u>			
			1847			
Mar. 27	To Merchandise	\$.50	June 19	By Bills Receivable	\$ 7.50
Apr. 30	To Joel Johnson		10.00			
June 23	To Merchandise		18.87	Sept. 28	By Profit & Loss	9.00
Aug. 3	"		2.44	Oct. 2	By Cash	28.74
Sept. 3	"		7.72			<u>\$ 45.24</u>
			<u>\$ 45.24</u>			

			1848			
Feb. 2	To Cash	\$	14.52	Jan. 3	By Siter Price & Co.	\$500.00
June 24	"		272.00			
Oct. 12	To Merchandise		2.00	Feb. 3	By Cash	22.50
27	"		.75	June 1	"	31.25
Nov. 3	"		4.30	July 14	"	50.00
16	"		.91	Aug. 1	"	22.50
22	To Bills Payable		355.00	Nov. 16	By Profit & Loss	23.23
			<u>\$649.48</u>			<u>\$649.48</u>
Nov. 28	To Merchandise		1.87	Nov. 23	By Cash	30.00
Dec. 5	"		.60	Dec. 30	By Robert Irwin	4.22
22	"		1.75			<u>\$ 34.22</u>
30	To Cash		30.00			
			<u>\$ 34.22</u>			

Dr.		1849		Cr.	
Jan. 1	To Robert Irwin	\$ 4.22	Dec. 19 By Cash	\$ 27.56	
Feb. 21	To Merchandise	.75			
Apr. 18	"	6.03		\$ 27.56	
May 7	"	4.62			
June 22	"	.37			
July 26	"	1.75			
Aug. 20	"	4.94			
Sept. 17	"	2.13			
Oct. 4	"	1.75			
Nov. 22	"	1.00			
				\$ 27.56	

		1850			
May 4	To Merchandise	\$.39	Dec. 31 By Cash	\$ 3.09	
Oct. 2	"	1.45			
Nov. 16	"	1.25		\$ 3.09	
				\$ 3.09	

		1851			
Feb. 12	To Merchandise	\$.07	Nov. 4 By Cash	\$ 9.57	
June 21	"	.75			
July 1	"	1.75		\$ 9.57	
Nov. 4	To Cash	5.00			
5	To Merchandise	2.00			
				\$ 9.57	

		1852			
Jan. 1	To Merchandise	\$ 2.81	Dec. 31 By Cash	\$ 3.31	
June 21	"	.50			
				\$ 3.31	

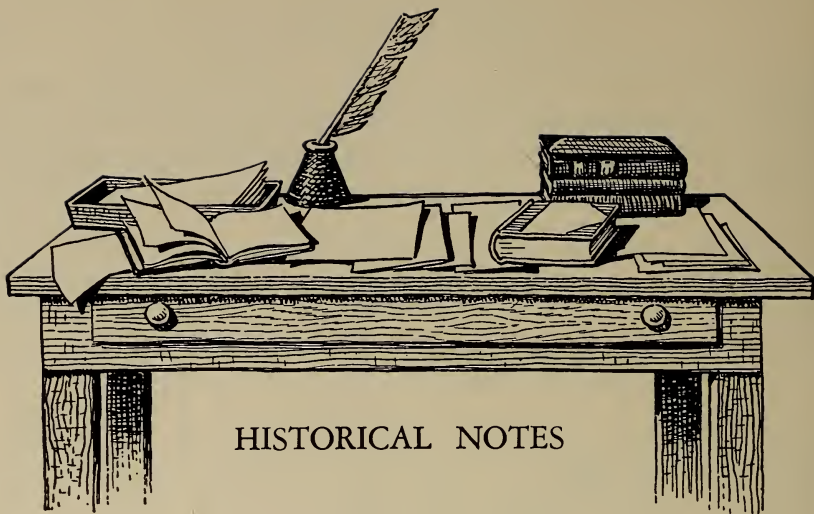
LINCOLN'S ACCOUNT AT J. BUNN & Co., 1849-1850

Mary Todd Lincoln purchased some of the family groceries from J. Bunn & Co. in Springfield in 1849. A fine old leather-covered journal recording the purchases was recently presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by the Bunn Capitol Grocery Company. This firm opened for business on July 1, 1840 as McConnel, Bunn & Co. On July 18, 1842 Jacob Bunn bought the business and operated it for many years as a wholesale and retail grocery company under the name of J. Bunn & Co. The charges in April, 1849 for two

kegs of lead by Edmund G. Johns, a house painter, indicate an improvement in the home Lincoln had owned for five years. Candles were still being used by the Lincolns, although a "Wall Lamp" was purchased for \$3.50 on November 29.

JOURNAL OF LINCOLN'S ACCOUNT AT J. BUNN & CO., 1849-1850

		A. LINCOLN	Dr.	Cr.
1849				
Apr.	24	To 1 Keg Lead Johns	\$ 2.00	
	26	" 1 Keg Lead Johns	2.00	
May	15	By cash	\$ 4.00	\$ 4.00
May	29	To 7# Sugar	.50	
June	5	" Sperm Candles	1.00	
	6	" Lemon syrup &c—6# sugar 75	1.75	
July	5	" 1/2 Doz. Tumblers	.37 1/2	
	6	" Sundries	.75	
Aug.	31	" do.	1.00	
Sept.	4	" 7# sugar	.50	
	5	" 1 Loaf sugar 50. 1# candles 40	.90	
	10	" 1 Broom	.30	
	15	" Sundries	1.02	
	20	" do.	4.35	
	26	" do.	.56	
	29	" 1/2 Gall. Vinegar	.13	
Oct.	1	" 1/2 Gall. Vinegar	.12	
	4	" Sundries	1.20	
	9	" Marches	.13	
	11	" Sugar & Coffee	1.00	
	13	" do. Sundries	.75	
	18	" do. "	.55	
	23	" do. "	1.80	
	27	" do. "	1.72	
	31	" do. "	1.40	
Nov.	2	" do. "	.75	
	5	" 1/4# Tea	.38	
	10	" 6# Sugar	.50	
	24	" Sundries	1.50	
	29	" 1 Wall Lamp	3.50	
Dec.	4	" Sundries	6.00	
	8	" do.	1.50	
	10	" 1 Butter Dish	1.50	
	19	" 6# Sugar	.50	
1850				
Jan.	1	By L[edger]. B[ook]. fo[llo]. 101	\$ 37.93	\$ 37.93



NEW SALEM COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES: DOCUMENTARY

EDITED BY FERN NANCE POND

FARMERS' POINT LITERARY SOCIETY

Thomas J. Nance (1811-1842)¹ came to Illinois in October 1832, and on December 17 organized the first subscription school at Farmers' Point, two miles south of New Salem. He taught four other schools in that area and in the Rock Creek neighborhood four miles south of New Salem.

Young Nance had received a good education at the school provided by Nathaniel Owens in one room of his large brick house on Little Brush Creek in Green County, Kentucky, sometimes called Owens Rural Seminary. Shortly before the Nance family set out for Sangamon County, Illinois, in September, 1832 Owens handed them this note:

GREEN COUNTY KY THE 28TH OF SEPT 1832

Mr. Zachariah Nance and his wife have been near neighbours to me 26 years. They have been respectable good neighbours. I regret that I must part with them. Their children now with them Towit Thomas, Allen and

¹Thomas Jefferson Nance was the great-granduncle of the editor. His wife was the editor's great-grandaunt by blood as well as by marriage. Horace G. Nance and his sister Louise Nance Basso (Mrs. Thomas), grandchildren of Thomas J. Nance, reside in Petersburg.

Parthena² were born at the house they now go from. They have constantly associated with my children. They are worthy youths, and have our best wishes for their prosperity. Mr. Thomas Nance has approached near to manhood, and has been doing business for his father the last 12 months. He has been upright in his conduct and pleasing to all. I do believe that young Mr Nance possesses all the principles that constitute the Gentleman. Not one of the family know of my intention of giving this certificate, neither will they know it, till I hand it to them. I write for my satisfaction, to stimulate them to remember their Old Neighbour.

NATHL OWENS

Zachariah Nance,³ father of Thomas, was born in Charles City County, Virginia, on May 5, 1760. He joined the Revolutionary Army at Williamsburg, served through the war and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. About 1806 he and his wife Elizabeth Bingley (Morris) Nance migrated to Green County, Kentucky, where Thomas was born September 17, 1811.

Thomas J. Nance married Catherine Houghton of Rock Creek on September 22, 1836, and two years later gave up teaching and devoted all his time to farming near Newmansville in Cass County until his death in 1842.

² Allen Q. Nance (1813-1873) farmed near Newmansville, Cass County, Illinois. He married Elizabeth Dearen in 1841 and moved to Texas in 1852, where he died. Parthena (1816-1898) married Samuel Hill, New Salem storekeeper, in 1835. They moved to Petersburg in 1839, where Samuel died in 1857. Their only child John became editor of the *Menard County Axis* and died in 1898.

³ Zachariah Nance was the great-great-grandfather of the editor. As a lifelong resident of the New Salem vicinity where her ancestors settled over a century ago, the editor has been interested in the history of Illinois and of Abraham Lincoln since her first scrapbook made at the age of thirteen. As deputy circuit clerk and recorder of Menard County for sixteen years, and as the wife of County Judge Henry E. Pond, she has had special opportunities for access to the original records and has been particularly interested in preserving historical documents and objects belonging to the New Salem community and the Nance family, including the originals of the documents published in this article.

Mrs. Fern Nance Pond of Petersburg, historian of Lincoln's New Salem and compiler of six editions of the official guide book, assisted in collecting, authenticating and placing the furnishings in the cabins and since 1933 has kept records and inventories of their contents for the State Division of Parks and Memorials. She was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor by Lincoln Memorial University in 1939 and was technical adviser for the Ford Foundation's television motion picture "Mr. Lincoln." A member of the D.A.R., National League of American Pen Women, third vice-president of the Illinois Woman's Press Association, she is listed in Who's Who of American Women and Who's Who in Illinois.

The division of Sangamon County was the subject of much discussion in the late 1830's. The Petersburg-New Salem-Farmers' Point neighborhood was among the most vociferous in its demands for a new county. At a meeting on May 19, 1838, of delegates from the "several proposed new counties," under the chairmanship of Dr. John Allen, it was

Resolved, That we nominate a list of candidates for the next Legislature, who are in favor of the proposed division of Sangamon county.

When the following named gentlemen were nominated: *Davis Robinson, Thomas R. Skinner, Thomas J. Nance.*

Resolved, That we nominate *Bowling Green* as a candidate for the Senate.⁴

At the election on August 6 five of the seven House members of the famous "Long Nine," who had worked to get the capital moved from Vandalia to Springfield, were re-elected. Of the nine unsuccessful candidates, however, Nance was highest, receiving only 32 votes less than the lowest of those elected. After the resignation of Ninian W. Edwards, when a special election was called to fill the vacancy, Nance again became a candidate and was elected on November 25 over his Whig opponent John Bennett, 878 votes to 842. He served at the special session in Springfield, December 9, 1839 to February 3, 1840. But at the August 3, 1840 election for the single seat allotted to Menard County in the Twelfth General Assembly, Bennett turned the tables and defeated Nance by 21 votes.

On January 4, 1833, Thomas J. Nance organized a literary society at Farmers' Point, giving it the high-sounding name of "The Tyro Polemic and Literary Club." It was patterned after the Kentucky literary society of which Nance had been a member. He was elected president, and delivered the following inaugural address:

Whatever be your intentions and future expectations, it is your indispensable duty, if you have any desire to gain the respect of your acquaintances and qualify yourself for the busy scenes of the world, to be studious in your conduct, and thoughtful about your mental improvement.

Remember that this is the morning of life in which pursuit is ardent and obstacles readily give way to vigor and perseverance. It is in your power to convert this season of learning into a source of satisfaction if you will but employ your time in continuous and useful reflections. While we thus employ our time we should carefully avoid those frivolous and uninteresting amusements which ruin and debase the mind of many an inconsiderate youth. The principal difference between man and man is chiefly owing to the cultivation of the mind. Anticipating the pleasures that are to be de-

⁴ *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], May 26, 1838.

rived from an educated mind, may each of you pursue the path that leads to honor, usefulness and true enjoyment.

The following thirty-seven members subscribed to a constitution and by-laws, and agreed to weekly meetings, which continued through May 18:

Thomas and Elijah Elmore, probably sons of Peter Elmore.

James Goldsby (1793-1854), a veteran of the War of 1812 and the first sheriff of Menard County, and his children Nancy, Mary, James B., William M. and John B. Goldsby.

William Graham ("Slicky Bill"), Lynn McNulty and Robert L. Greene, sons of William Griggs Greene (1779-1848).

William I. Hall (unidentified).

John F. Harrison (born 1807), son of Fielding Harrison; Elizabeth and Erasmus Harrison (unidentified).

Zachariah Hash, who lived with his uncle Samuel Combs.

Sevigna Houghton (1810-1880), son of Charles Pickrell Houghton.

John W. Lane, who served in Lincoln's company in the Black Hawk War in 1832.

Levi Leg (unidentified).

Thomas Jefferson, Allen Q. and Parthena Nance, children of Zachariah Nance (1760-1835).

John G. Newhouse (unidentified).

James Purkapile and his children George, Mary and Rachel Purkapile.

William W. Searcy; Henry D. Starr; A. Sympton; and Jeremiah Thompson (all unidentified).

Thomas Wynne and his sons John B., Joshua W., Lewis B. and E. C. Wynne.

SANGAMON COUNTY ILLINOIS
JANUARY 4TH. 1833.

We, the undersigned, having for our object the attainment of scientific and useful knowledge, do unite & agree to use our Talents, Influence, and best endeavours to advance the object above mentioned, and such others as may be, herein after named. Wherefore, we, with good Intention, do enact and ordain for our future observance, the following Laws, Rules, & Regulations.

Names of Members⁶

By Laws and Rules.

1st. Any member offering a motion or resolution shall rise to his feet and address the house.

⁵ Sevigna Houghton was the great-grandfather of the editor, and the brother of Catherine Houghton who married Thomas J. Nance.

⁶ The names originally under this heading are rearranged and identified above.

2nd. Each individual shall address the officers by Title, the jury, Gentlemen jurors; and members by the term Mr.

3rd. No person shall pass between the jury and speaker.

4th. No member shall leave the room during business without a permit from the President.

5th. The President shall have the power to organize classes, to apportion duties, and make such additions, alterations, and arrangements as expediency shall render necessary.

6th. No member shall speak longer than fifteen minutes at a time, without a permit from the Prest.

7th. The Secretary shall receive & secure all fines as directed by the President, & deliver to the Club, the same, when called on, by the Pres.

8th. All members fined by Society shall pay the same in two weeks from the time of fining. If however this be neglected, it shall be doubled and then if not in 4 weeks the name shall be erased from the Book.

9th. All original declamations, compositions, & each record when read to Society may be criticized upon by any member who may have objections to the pronunciation, style, &c.

10th. No member shall use the name of the Supreme Being in debate—and it is hereby made the duty of President to call any such violater to order, for any such offense.

11th. The President shall appoint a door keeper each night whose duty it is to keep the members from passing: one shall keep 30 minutes at a time.

12th. Any member or other person who permits himself to quarrel & thereby trespasses upon the Order of the House shall be expelled from the Society & House.

Constitution.

Article

1st. This Society shall be called the Tyro Polemic, and Literary Club.

2nd. Its Officers shall consist of a President, Vice-President and a Secretary.

3rd. The President on taking his seat, shall be qualified by the Secretary to enforce all Laws of Society; he shall then deliver an inaugural address to Society and on vacating it a valedictory.

4th. It shall be the vice President's duty to keep order, to make out an account of all appeals before the house, to indict all refractory members before the President, and in his absence officiate in his stead by appointing a vice President proteumm.

5th. The Secretary shall keep a record of all the proceedings of Society, and qualify all officers on taking their seats (if required of him,) and, call the roll & mark all absentees, returning the same to the vice President.

6th. Two thirds of the votes taken shall be necessary to the formation of any Law; Excepting however, the case of electing officers, wherein a majority shall be sufficient.

7th. The duties of Society shall be debating, declaiming, composing, & criticising, & Lecturing.

8th. The President shall appoint three jurors, before whom the question in debate shall be discussed, and the jurors shall bring in a verdict, in accordance to the merit or demerit of the arguments produced.

9th. No spectators shall be admitted; nor shall any person be present during business unless he become a member, either regular or honorary; the latter being equally subject to the Laws.

10th. Any member during business, showing inattention or disrespect to any Officer having legal command shall be subject to a fine not less than three, nor more than six & a fourth cents.

11th. Any Officer failing to enforce any Law, which it is his duty to do, or neglect fulfilling the demands of the above Laws, shall be subject to a fine of $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents.

12th. Any member failing to attend, or to perform his duty shall be fined not less than 3 nor more than $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents: any member so fined can appeal to the house for remission, two thirds thereof having the power to remit.

13th. The Officers of this Society shall hold their offices 4 weeks at a time; when they may be re-elected, or others in their places.

14th. Any member may write and lodge his production in the Anonymous box, previous to the convention of the "Club": The sect. shall read the same to society.

All that part of the 9th. Art. of this Constitution that forbids the attendance of Spectators is hereby so modified as to allow such to attend as behave in accordance with the By laws of this Society.

Proceedings of January 4th. 1833.

The Students assembled, according to an agreement made prior to this; and proceeded to organize, and form a society. 1st. Elected Mr. T. J. Nance, President; Mr. T. Wynne V. President; and Mr. Lewis B. Wynne Secretary. 2nd. Society proceeded to enact Laws, and formed a constitution. 3rd. The following question was proposed and debated before a jury consisting of three members, (appointed by the President) "Whether does riches, or education, render a man most happy?" The jury, after having retired, brought in their verdict in favour of the affirmative. 4th. The society divided itself into classes; the first class was appointed to compose, 2nd. to declaim, & 3rd. to debate the following question: "Which does the most injury to mankind fire or water?" after which Society adjourned, until the 11th. January 4th. '33.

LEWIS B. WYNNE SEC.

T. J. NANCE PRESDT.

January 11th. 1833.

The Club met pursuant to adjournment, & proceeded to discharge the business of the day in the manner, viz: 1st. The V Pres having called the

house to order, the Secre. called the roll and made his report to which there was no objection. 2ndly. The compositions to society were read and the 2nd. class with the exception of Mr. R. L. Green debated the intended question before a jury consisting of 3 members appointed by the Pres. After a short debate the jury retired and brought in their verdict in favour of fire. The question was then debated by the house which gave a majority of 5 in favour of fire. After the debate was over Society adopted the 12th. article of the constitution & added the 5th. & 6th. by Laws. After which the Pres appointed Mr A Q Nance to Lecture the 1st. class to declaim and the second to debate this question which is the strongest passion Love or anger and the 3rd. class was appointed to compose, after which Society adjourned.

SIGNED BY THE PRES.

L. B. WYNNE, SECY.

T. J. NANCE

January 18th. 1833.

Society met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded as follows: 1st. The Sec called the roll and found the V Pres. absent. 2ndly. appointed Mr. James Goldsby Sr., as V Pres protem, after which the house was called to order. The constitution was read and 5 new members admitted within the pale of the Constitution; 3rd. the 1st. class with the exception of Messrs. G. Purkapile and Z. Hash acquitted themselves of their duty of declaiming, the above mentioned Gentl. were fined 3 cents each, by the Pres. 4th. The compositions to Society were read, 5th. The 3rd. class debated the intended question before a jury appoin[t]ed by the Pres. also Mr A. Q. Nance discharged his duty of Lecturing. After which the question was debated by the house; but the decision not being made (in consequence of neglect) the house adopted the 6th. bylaw, after offering other resolutions. 6th. The Pres appointed the first class to Declaim. 2nd. to compose and 3rd. to debate this question, "Which are the most benefit to human society, horses or cattle." 7th. The Pres. & Secr volunteered to lecture; after which, society adjourned. RECORDED BY L. B. WYNNE, SECY. SIGNED BY THE PRES, T. J. NANCE

January 26th. 1833

Met pursuant to adjournment and appointed Mr James Goldsby Sr. to fill the seat of V Pres who was absent. 1st. The constitution was read and the Sec. made his report; after which 4 Members Hon[or]ary were received. 2nd. Compositions to Society were read and each of the declaimers performed his respective Duty. 3rd. The Pres. & Sec. delivered a lecture each. 4th. The Pres. appointed a jury before whom the debaters performed their duty. After retiring the jury brought in their verdict in favor of horses. The question was then discussed by the house, which gave it in favour of Cattel, majority vote. 5th. Society then adopted the 8th. & 9th. by Laws; also added the 13th. article to the constitution. 6th. The officers terms having expired; the Society re-elected Mr. T. J. Nance Pres. and elected Mr. J. F. Harrison V Pres. also adopted a continuation of L. B. Wynne as Secretary. After offering a few

resolutions none of which went into effect. The Pres. appointed the 1st. Class to declaim, 2nd. to compose, and 3rd. debate this question "which is the greatest advantage to mankind Agriculture or Education." 7th. The Pres and Ser Mr. A. Q. Nance each agreed to Lecture. After which a motion was made for adjournment which carried.

BY, L. B. WYNNE SCR.

SIGNED BY THE PRES. T. J. NANCE

Feb 1st. 1833

Society met according to adjournment Mr Nance in the chair. The house was called to order The constitution was read and 4 Honorary Members recieved, after which the Secr. made his report. 2nd. The compositions to society were read 3rd. The Declaimers performed their duty 4th. The Lecturers Mr. A. Q. Nance & L. B. Wynne delivered a lecture each. 5th. The Pres. appointed a jury to hear the debaters. And after a warm debate the jury gave it in favour of education. It was then debated by the house which gave it in favour of Agriculture. The Pres. fined Mr Z. Hash 3 cents for non attendance. 6th. The Pres. then appointed 1st. class to compose 2nd. to debate question "Which is the most beneficial a water carriage or Land carriage." 3rd. to declaim.

On motion the house adjourned.

BY, LEWIS B. WYNNE SECRY.

SIGNED BY THE PRES. THOS. J. NANCE

Proceedings of February 8th.

Met. Mr. Nance in the chair. Mr Harrison the V. Pres. being absent Mr. J. Goldsby Sr. was appointed to fill his chair. The house being called to order, the Secr. made his report to which there was no objection; 2nd. Compositions to society were read; 3rd. The declaimers discharged their duty; 4th. Mrrs. Newhouse, & T. J. Nance delivered a lecture each; 5th. The Pres. appointed 3 members as jurors to hear the debaters, the jury after retiring gave in their verdict in favour of water carriages. The Pres. then appointed 3 of those Gentl who had just debated as jurors to hear the remainder, the jury then gave in favour of water Carriage. The Pres. appointed 1st. class to debate this question, "Which was the greatest warriour—Alexandria or Buonaparte?["] Second to compose and 3rd. to Declaim, and 4th. to Lecture. Mr. Z. Hash having taken an appeal, his fine was remitted; and then society added the 10th. By law. A motion was then made for adjo. which recieved a majority.

BY, LEWIS B. WYNNE, SCR.

SIGNED BY THE PRES. THOMAS J. NANCE

Proceedings of Friday {Feb} 15th. 1833

Society met according to adjournment. The Pres. appointed Mr. J. G. Newhouse V Pr pro tem Mr H. being absent. The house was called to order, the Scr. made his report. 1st. The roll was called and several found to be absent. 2nd. Compositions were read 3rd. The declaimers with the exception of Mr. J. B. Gold[sby] performed their duty; 4th. The Lecturers gave

us a Lecture each on English Grammer. 5th. The debaters performed their duty, after the Pres. had appointed Mrrs J. G. Newhouse & L. B. Wynne as assistant debaters; the former on the side of Alex. After a warm debate the jury gave their entire verdict in favour of Bunaparte. The question was then discussed by the house, and after a very unequal debate, the vote was taken in favour of Bunaparte. Pres. then appointed 1st. class to compose, 2nd. to debate this question, whether were the deeds of Columbus more profitable to mankind than those of Washington? and then the 3rd. class to declaim. The Pres fined Mrrs J. B. Go[ldsby,] E. Elmore, and A. Q. Nance also Miss Parthena Nance for violation of rules, and nonperformance of duty. The house adjourned.

L. B. WYNNE SEC.

SIGNED BY THE PRES. T. J. NANCE

Proceedings of Feb. 22nd. 1833.

Commenced business at 3 oclock. After a respectable audience had made their appearance, the Ser. read his report to which there was no objection. 1st. The Ser. opened his drawer, and found a number of Compositions and Letters all of which were read with great satisfaction. 2nd. The declaimers discharged their duty, two of whom gave us a Speech each on the subject of Genl. Washington's birthday. 3rd. The Pres. appointed a jury before whom the debaters plead manfully, and after requesting the jury they gave in favour of Washington. The question was then opened before the house, which debated a short time; dark coming the Pres. granted a cessation for 30 minutes, after which the room was illuminated, and the debate was resumed by the house, and after a warm debate, in which a spectator took an active part, the vote was taken in favour of Washington. The officers' terms having expired the house proceeded to hold an election, in which Mr. T. J. Nance was reelected Pres. & Mr A. Q. Nance elected V. Pres. and Mr L. M. Green elected Ser. The Pres. appointed 1st. Class to debate this question. Whether has slavery been benficial to the W. Continent, or not—2nd. to declaim and 3rd. to compose, and two to Lecture. A motion was made for adjournment, which met with no opposition.

RECORDED BY

LEWIS B. WYNNE, SECRETARY. SIGNED BY THE PRES. T. J. NANCE

Proceedings of March 1st 1833

The Society met according with adjournment. 1st. The Secretary called the roll and found several members absent, and received 1 irregular member. 2nd. The Composers, read the compositions. 3rd. The Declaimers, discharged their duty. 4th. The President appointed Jurors, before whom the question was discussed; and when the Debaters motioned for a decision, the jury gave in favour of Slavery, being an advantage: Then the question was debated by the house; and the vote taken in the negative. 5th. The President fined Z. Hash, & H. L. S[t]arr 3 cts each for not attending; also James B. Goldsby Jr, 3 cts for passing between the jury and speaker. E. Elmore's fine was doubled:

But P. W. Nance's and George Purkapile's fines, were remitted. 6th The President appointed the first class, to debate this, Question, "which is the more surprising to man the works, of art, or the works of nature?" 2nd to Compose; 3rd To Declaim; and fourth class to Lecture. A motion was, then made that our next meeting should commence at 3 OClock P.M. The Society, then adjourned.

SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT T. J. NANCE

RECORDED BY L. M. GREEN SECR.

Proceedings of March 8th 1833

The Society assembled agreeable with adjournment; Mr T. J. Nance in the Chair, gave orders for the Vice President to call the house to order he did so; Society then proceeded to business as follows. 1st. The Secretary called the roll, and found several members absent, and received 2 irregular members. 2nd. The Composers read their Compositions. 3rd. The Declaimers discharged their duty. 4th. The President appointed 3 Jurors before whom the question was discussed: When the debaters motioned for a decision they gave in favour of nature; the question was then discussed warmly by the house; and the vote taken in the affirmative. 5th Mr L. B. Wynne and J. G. Newhouse, exhibited their noble dramattick talents by their unequal feats, in the performance of a modern dialogue. 6th. The President appointed the first class to Compose. 2nd. To Declaim. 3rd. To Debate this question, which is the most profit to the United States, internal improvements, or Exterior Commerce?" And 4th. To Lecture. 7th. The President fined Z. Hash & Robert Green 3 cts each for not attending; and Mr. H. D. Starr's fine was remitted. A motion was then made for adjournment; which carried without opposition.

SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT T. J. NANCE

RECORDED BY L. M. GREEN SECR.

Proceedings of March 15th. 1833

Society met according to adjournment; Mr. T. J. Nance in the chair, gave orders for the Vice Pres. to call the house to order he did so. Society then proceeded to business as follows: 1st. The Secretary called the roll, and found several members absent; he then read his report to which there was no objection. 2nd. The Composers read their compositions. 3rd. The Declaimers discharged their duty. 4th The Lecturer gave us a lecture on Geography. 5th. Mr. L. B. Wynne and J. G. Newhouse, acted a Dialogue; also Mr. L. M. Green and J. G. Newhouse acted another, which was very diverting. 6th Pres. appointed 3 Jurors before whom the question in debate was discussed; and when the debaters motioned for a decision the[y] gave in favour of Internal improvements: The question was then debated by the house; the vote taken in the affirmative. 7th The President appointed the first class to Compose 2 to Declaim 3rd. to Debate this question; whether does a man enjoy more real satisfaction, to marry while young, or not. And 4th. To Lecture. 8th. The President fined Robt Green and H. D. Starr 3 cts each for not attending; and

James H. Goldsby's fine was doubled. Mr. Z. Hash was excluded, agreeable to the constitution. The house then adjourned.

SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT.....

RECORDED BY L. M. GREEN SECR.

The above Question was debated in the following manner, Whether does a single state of life conduce more to a man's happiness than married one?

Corrected by Secretary Mar. 22nd 1833

Proceedings of March 22nd 1833.

The Society assembled agreeable with adjournment. Mr T. J. Nance in the chair; had the house called to order. 1st. The Secr. call[ed] the roll, and found several members absent: He then read his report.

2nd. The Composers read their Compositions.

3rd. The Declaimers discharged their duty.

4th. Mr. L. B. Wynne and J. G. Newhouse acted a Dialogue; also J. G. Newhouse and L. M. Green acted another. 5th. The Pres. appointed 3 jurors before whom the question in debate, was discussed; and the Debaters discussed the question; they then motioned for a decision, which the jury gave in favour of the Married state of life. The question was then discussed by the house, and the vote taken in the affirmative. 6th. The officers time having expired, the house proceeded to hold an Election in which T. J. Nance was reelected Pres. and L. M. Green was reelected Secr. and L. B. Wynne was elected Vice Pres. 7th. The President appointed the 1st. Class to Compose. 2nd. To Declaim. 3rd. To Lecture and 4th. To Debate this question. Which has the greatest influence on men, Custom, or Reason? 8th. The President fined L. M. Green 3 cts for nonperformance, and Lewis B. Wynne 3 cts for a violation of the rules, and H. D. Starr and Robt. Green 3 cts each for not attending. The house then adjourned.

RECORDED BY L. M. GREEN, SECR. SIGNED BY THE PRES. T. J. NANCE,

March 29th 1833.

Society met pursuant to adjournment; Mr. T. J. Nance in the chair had the house called to order: Society, then proceeded to business as follows: 1st. The Secretary called the roll, and read his report. 2nd. The Composers read thier compositions. 3rd. The Declaimers, discharged their duty. 4th. On account of night's approaching, and of few members being present, it was deemed necessary to omit debating the question before a jury, the question was debated before the house; and the vote taken in favour of Custom having the greater influence. 5th. The Pres. appointed the first class to Compose. 2nd. To Declaim. 3rd. To Lecture & 4th. To Debate this Question.

6th. The Pres. fined J. B. Goldsby 3 cts. for not discharging his duty, and J. W. Wynne 3 cts. for not attending. 7th. H. D. Starr, Robert Green and E. Elmore were excluded: The house, then adjourned to meet no more till the 19th April.

RECORDED BY L. M. GREEN

SIGNED BY THE PRES. T. J. NANCE.

April 19th. Anno Domini 1833.

The Society met pursuant to previous agreement, but, owing to negligence on the part of some of the male members, little was done. The Secretary read his report, to which there was no objection. The debating class, not being present, (on account of agricultural solicitude,) the above vacancy was not supplied with a question. After some inquiry, etc. the Secretary read some valuable remarks, enforced by the authority of the best moralists, upon the subject of "Anger." The President followed with some opinions upon the "Sin of and danger of national ignorance." The house was then entertained with an Oration by Mr. J. B. Goldsby. In the close, it was agreed to convene on Saturday 18th. May.

RECORDED BY A MEMBER AND SANCTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT
SIGNED BY THE SEC.—L. M. GREEN. THOMAS (JEFFERSON) N[ANCE].

Last Meeting, May 18. 1833.

The Society met pursuant to previous agreement: The Secretary read his report, to which there was no objection. The President then, appointed 3 jurors before whom the question (which was "If a man were crossing a river, with his Mother and his intended bride, and some accident happens to the Boat, so he must throw the one, or the other out, by which act will he bespeak the most prudence.["]") was discussed warmly by each party. In the next place Mr. J. B. Goldsby read a short detail of his studies during the five latter months, which was very interesting; then, the Secretary followed with some remarks on the benefits of Attention: After which, the Vice President, (Mr. L. B. Wynne) read some excellent ideas on the Equality of man; also several remarks on Education, which were equally as, appraisable, as any that have hitherto been presented to Society: The President then, proceeded to read his Composition on the Beauties of Spring, which contained a variety of pleasing remarks, but no less pleasing than, excellent. After which there was a profound silence for some time. Society then adjourned.

RECORDED BY THE SECRETARY, SIGNED BY THE PRES.
L. M. GREEN. T. J. NANCE

TEMPERANCE ADDRESS BY THOMAS J. NANCE.

The New Salem Temperance Society was organized in 1831 by Dr. John Allen,⁷ at whose home the meetings were held. At the annual meeting on November 7, 1833, secretary Samuel Dutton reported seventy-six members in good standing, an increase of twenty-four. Six members were expelled

⁷ Dr. Allen was born in Vermont and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828. Coming to New Salem in the winter of 1830-1831 to practice medicine, he erected a three-room flush-notch log cabin for his office and home on two lots which he bought for \$25 from James Pantier. Pantier, born in Kentucky in 1779, had come to Illinois in 1815 and to Sand Ridge, Sangamon (now Menard) County in 1826. In 1834 Allen married Mary E. Moore of the Indian Point neighborhood.

My address delivered before the New Salem Temperance Society Feb. 26th 1834. — By the request of the Managers. Presumpted Friends:—I presume that Temperance, in the present acception of the term, has been much the theme of ridicule, if not of misrepresentation. From the change required by this Representation in the use of ^{stands} ardent, I have always expected to meet opposition; no one should be judged hastily for not at once being convinced; the subject is still of recent agitation; the habit which is attempted to be reformed has been of long duration. It comes in direct competition with ^{the} old, well rooted ~~appetite~~ ^{habit} of long duration. We are creatures governed more, in general, by

BEGINNING OF THOMAS J. NANCE'S MANUSCRIPT OF HIS TEMPERANCE ADDRESS

for breach of rules and one withdrew at the request of the church.⁸ The minutes of the Society are not known to be extant, but the manuscript of the following address, delivered by Nance on February 26, 1834 "By the request of the Managers," is in the possession of the Nance family.

RESPECTED FRIENDS:

I presume that Temperance, in the present acceptation of the Term, has been much the theme of ridicule, if not of misrepresentation. From the change required by this Reformation in the use of ardent spirits, I have always expected to meet opposition; no one should be judged hastily for not at once being convinced; the subject is still of recent agitation; the habit which is attempted to be reformed has been of long duration. It comes in direct competition with an old, well riveted appetite-chained custom. We are creatures governed more, in general, by custom than reason, tho' we are hardly willing to acknowledge the truth of this remark. We are also suspecting beings. Hence on the origin of any new Institution, we hear cavil and opposition, whether it be good or bad. It seems from this principle of our nature, that we are made to doubt the good intention of every theory that demands a change in our conduct. We are apt to put a bad construction on every system new or foreign. Were it not for this prejudice against modern theories, we might often reap the Benefits of enlightened Reason, before our dull faculties can be aroused to a spirit of inquiry. We need not go back to the history of Columbus to illustrate this opinion, for I am certain that the Temperance advocate daily experiences its truth. We at first, find every person opposed to the change, before they wait to hear reasons for or against; so confident are we that whatever is, is right, in human affairs. We forget that the march of the mind is continual; that we live to improve, that genius & reason will invent; and that truth should sanction.

The existence of such a thing as a Temperance society should not create astonishment. But the great wonder is, that it was not tho't of sooner. 'Tis with this, as with most other great systems; man was driven to it; & that by facts, in which no one has any separate interest, yes, the remedy forced itself upon him from the existence of truths which concern each of you. It is not composed or got up, by parties or sects of designing men, as some erroneously suppose; but it is an enterprize of pure benevolence & patriotism in which the religious & irreligious of all sects, parties & stations in life, have engaged for the purpose of suppressing one of the most direful scourges that ever visited the civilized wo[r]ld. They have united, hoping to dry up some of the deepest fountains of disease, crime, poverty, blasphemy, indolence, need-

He moved to Petersburg in 1839, where he continued to practice until his death in 1863. He is buried in Rose Hill Cemetery near Petersburg.

A devout Presbyterian, Dr. Allen held religious services and "Sabbath School" in his New Salem home. He was active in furthering the division of Sangamon County. An ardent Whig, Dr. Allen supported Lincoln in his political ambitions, and in their lasting friendship Lincoln found companionship.

⁸ *Sangamo Journal*, Nov. 30, 1833.

less taxes, orphan's tears, & widows' broken hearts. If then these be the designs of the Temperance reformers, who can be opposed to hear us at least, while we reason with you & each other upon the great good that may be accomplished by our complete success; and this without your time, your money, or the sacrifice of any real benefit.

Everything we wish done is this, cease to use or countenance the use of ardent spirit, you & your families. And this you should do for these weighty reasons:

1st, Men can live & labour without their use, better, we think, than with it. Perhaps you would like some proof of this; well, I shall only ask you to look at some man who uses not one drop or ask some person who belongs to the side of entire abstinence, if he does not feel as well and as strong as he formerly did; and in both cases you will probably be told, that the change was much for the better in point of qualification for every manly employment; and a clear saving of much time and money. Then if it be seen that one man has done without ardent spirit, without even wanting them; shall not we be allowed to affirm the same of the species, of all men. No man ever yet loved his dram till he cultivated a taste for it. This is a thing that most of us are unconscious of, for our mothers generally do this for us when quite young. Thousands have had the courage to cease their use, and we affirm that nature does not need such a help; that much good is the result to every one, to families & society without exception.

A second reason why you should quit the use of intoxicating liquors is, while the moderate drinker continues we never can rid ourselves & posterity of the evils that grow out of their excessive use. This we all know. If there were no moderate drinkers, drunkenness would cease, after a short period. I need not refer you to the practice of the ancient Grecians, to make their slaves drunk once a year in the presence of their children, in order to make them abhor the idea of such immorality, that you may believe my assertion. For I flatter myself that there is not a rational man present, who would doubt its claim to truth. I say, if none were to drink except those who drink to excess, the evil would of itself die with its victims; all would rank it with the basest of human crimes; none would dare to sip the impious cup; when in his senses, which promised him nothing but expense, ill-feeling, poverty, crime, disease, dishonor, disappointment, & a continual decay of every thing worthy in the moral character of man.

Who then are they who perpetuate the evil, if the sot does not? Is any man influenced to drink by the example of the inebriate? Certainly not. The blame then must unavoidably rest on the moderate drinker. What! says one, have I been contributing to it too? We answer yes. You by your example have assisted to make men think the practice, an honorable, generous, and useful one. You told him of 18 [years] that there was no harm in drinking moderately; that if he had sense he would not hurt himself: he believed you. He to be generous, hands in his first treat. O he's very certain that he

can govern himself. He abhors the thou't, of being a drunkard. You would insult his honor to advise him to be careful lest he be overtaken & overcome by strong drink. Time goes on, all's well with him. He goes to his bottle daily & persuades himself that he could not do without their assistance to enliven his sluggish feelings. Their utility he fancies increases; he needs them 3 times a day—yes 4 or 5 times help him, so he goes on. His property at length [*sic*] fails to increase;—still he heeds it not. The merchant's bill is very large. Suppose him by this time to have a smart family on his hands, a lovely sweet-tempered female. He loved her dearly. Little did she think of any thing but happiness with him. Years pass away. He often has business in Town—loves fun & amusement—he attends courts, elections & horse races. Here the bounding bowl is handed around with many encomiums—the stripling stands by & longs to become one of the party. In this way the habit it gains respectability. The man becomes so engaged, that he cannot get his company off till dark. They take their last drink & mount—all feel well; they have nothing to disturb them—not even their worse than widowed wives; lo; one of this motley crew is a cripple, hear him boast, he fancies he can dance like a fury;—Another is clumsy & unwieldy, he swears he can run like a buck:—Another is weak & puny, he can life like Sampson and fight like Hercules;—but up comes another, thinly habited in rags,—perhaps not worth a groat, he offers to bet thousands & to accomplish impossibilities. He feels as rich as Croesus on his throne. O! deceived, deluded men! Could you drink of the cup of sorrow's containing the bitterest dregs, with your melancholy wives & neglected children, you would surely let fall one sympathetic tear. By & by, all reach home—no pleasure is seen to sparkle, no smile to greet his welcome. O she beholds his tottering steps & bursts into tears, he upbraids her weakness. She cries, & pleads with him to forsake his ways, he grows angry & threatens her with blows. Never, never after this is his affection the same; he grows indolent & fond [of] every thing like rudeness, still imagines he can govern himself. But his farm & buildings go to decay—at last after repeated drunken fits, the Lawyer & the sheriff sweep [away] the whole of his estate; he now for the first time is made to doubt the rectitude of his conduct—to get away from trouble he goes to the bottle of friendship, as he thinks it, and drinks to awful excess. Deceiving friends, as all are apt to be in his eyes call for their money—he is unable to pay:—his wife & children are driven from their fireside, their property is sold to satisfy debts he cannot pay. Thus adversity lays his unwelcome hand on a harmless female, who, after all hope is gone, sinks under the weight of grief & shame & returns to her mother earth; after living a life of despair & wretchedness less to be desired than death itself. But what becomes of this sprightly youth who once tho't it no harm to drink: trace him a few more steps; disease begins to undermine his robust consti[tu]tion and he finally dies in a scene of debauch. Thus dies a man, whose prospects in early [life] were as fair as yours. But unfortunate[ly] for him he knew not his own weakness;—he knew not the strength of appetite & custom.

This picture of the drunkard is not an imaginary one. Too true indeed. I wish that all of it were ideal fancy; that nothing of its kind had ever transpired among men. Who is there here that has never seen nor known anything of such misfortune? Where, is the Town or grocery that has not its victims of intemperance? I know of no such place in this our boasted country. Many have taken pains to collect facts on this subject & and all assure us that the cost and amount of evil are alarming. From the best information the people of this nation consume 60,000,000 gallons of spirits annually, much of this is imported. The Baltimore Gazette remarks that the number of gallons of wines imported into this country, during the year 1832, was, 5,326,094, upon which the duties amounted to \$837,249.83 cts. more than $\frac{1}{5}$ wine. Now, when recollected that we have more than 40,000 *distilleries*, and a population of nearly 14,000,000, composing large cities and thousands of towns & villages, & that every one of these consumes more or less, I think no one will be tempted to adopt the absurd opinion that we receive very little injury from their consumption among us. Will any one presume to say, that there is no need for reformation? When therefore we take into consideration the amount of grain, no. of hands required to attend distilleries, loss of time, money, health & morals & every thing that's dear to society by ardent spirits:—not to say any thing of the poverty, misery, tears, & millions of oaths vociferated over the drunken cup, we feel a deep concern for an abatement of the whole.

Tho' I know that our acquaintances opposed to Temperance are apt to think our estimate exaggerated & unfair. If such a friend be present, let me ask him, whether he has taken pains to calculate for himself, whether he has an idea correctly of the quantity of foreign spirits consumed in the United States, and of the mischief they have done. If he has not done this I think him under obligation to do it. There are many who feel willing to join in this laudable effort to do good; but some are kept back for this, that or the other reason. Some think it is a money making machine: well agreed, this is what most men like. But who makes the money? The abstainer makes, or saves it and Franklin tells us that a "sixpence saved is worth as much as one earned". Others tenacious of their rights, fear that some evil will result; & therefore will not join. This is all a matter of conjecture. There is no data for such a supposition. And if we be allowed to conjecture too, 'tis probable that a thousand goods will be the rewards to all men, where one evil shall arise. I believe that it is accounted a good principle in Philosophy to choose the safe side, in all matters of doubt and uncertainty.

There is one advantage in choosing the side of abstinence, then viz: If you do not drink, you never can be injured by ardent spirits, directly; you will certainly never be a drunkard. If you do drink, you may loose some time & some money that might be better applied: And you have no proof that you will never drink to excess, any more than the confirmed sot had, when he tasted the first dram. For I've no idea that any man in existence ever de-

signed, at the first to make himself a drunkard: No, every one tho't that he would govern his appetite.

After all the apologies & objections that can be offered to this reformation, I'm induced to believe, that if it were possible to collect every drunkard & his family throughout the United States, all into one group, under one view, and place that strong opposer over them all, and let him view their actions one day & hear their conversation. Let him then inquire into the history of their misfortunes, letting each narrate for him or herself, and I feel confident that after seeing & hearing of all the abuse, wicked perpetrations of deeds, millions of oaths and oceans of tears that in spite of appetite, love of gain, or & feeling in a benevolent breast he would be constrained to acknowledge, that happy would it be for man had alcohol never been known. For, O: how many that were born with reason, has it transformed into idiots? How many men of property & usefulness, has it turned into contemptible drones! How many families has it driven from their dwellings to the streets! from comfort & affluence to indigence and wo! How many children has it caused to be neglected! How many crimes of awful magnitude have been committed by its diabolical influence. And Oh: is it we, who stand & boast the dignified principles of a sublime morality;—we, who live in the 19th Century, an age of great inquiry & moral improvement: I say is it we, who for little doubts & scruples, thus remain indifferent, unmoved and unconcerned, about the welfare of others; and allow this greatest of evils to continue it[s] ravages; when we can easily put a stop to it, without expense or any injury whatever.

Tis true that most men have regarded intemperance as a kind of necessary evil: (and necessity is plead[ed] for every enormity of this kind among men.) But there is no necessity. If there were, how did Alexander, Cesar, Hannibal, & Bonaparte perform their chivalric deeds without their use? Why did not our Creator, in his wisdom, prevent the evil tendency that ardent spirits have, of making man more wicked than he would be without them? instead of making man so much worse, why, if they be actually necessary, did not God cause them to be so much better in their influence? I deem it sufficient for us to know, that we would be more happy, more moral, & more rich without alcohol than with it—to convince us of the propriety of a change. Tis certainly wisdom to cease any practice that does more harm to [the] community than it does good. And, now, if it be right to relieve the distrust, to live morally, & do away crime, when in our power—in a word if we are under any moral obligation to do good, we certainly are doing wrong to make no effort to retard the progress of this demoralizing vice.

If Temperance could be universally adopted, how much less swearing, fighting, Gambling, noise & confusion;—how much less murder & theft, poverty & wretchedness; how much more joy & gladness, industry & plenty would there be! No one can tell. Who is there then, unwilling to help in this cause of humanity, which cannot possibly be repugnant to the laws of God nor man?

With pleasure we refer the interest of this cause to the ladies. We know that your influence in society is very great. Man in every condition of life needs some soft hand to urge him on, & stimulate him to discharge his duty. Is it not a lamentable truth that man too often prostitutes his boasted faculties to the destruction of female happiness! Is it not to be lamented that while the father & the brother, have been feasting upon the flowing bowl, many of your sex, have drunk the bitterest of sorrow's dregs, and their best endeavors [have been] paralyzed by an important union with a lover of ardent spirits. These truths authorize the opinion, that the success of the Temperance Reform will brighten your fairest prospects; and add much to your social enjoyment by a better cultivation of those amiable dispositions requisite to your temporal welfare.

LETTER OF MARY OWENS TO THOMAS J. NANCE

Mary S. Owens was born September 29, 1808 in Green County, Kentucky, a daughter of Nathaniel and Nancy (Graham) Owens. In 1833 and again in 1836-1838 she visited her sister Elizabeth (Mrs. Bennett Abell) at New Salem. During the second visit she resumed her acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln, recently re-elected to the legislature. Three letters from Lincoln to Mary appear in the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association edition),⁹ and *Lincoln's Other Mary*, by Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurtry, goes into considerable detail on their relations.

The Owens and Nance families had been neighbors in Kentucky. This letter was written by Mary to Thomas J. Nance after the latter had been in Illinois two and a half years:

RURAL RETIREMENT GREEN CTY KY APRIL THE 11TH 1835

DEAR THOMAS

To perpetuate that friendship, which has ever existed in my Bosom, towards your Fathers family, is the design of this letter. Though I cannot forbear remarking here, that on the part of you, and Parthena,¹⁰ there seemed a disposition, for a correspondence to cease, when Mr. Henry¹¹ was the bearer of several letters to your acquaintances in this Cty, and my name, not even mentioned. My feelings at the moment, felt deeply, and I determined, as you had set the example, to profit by it, but we are commanded to do good for evil, and in this particular, I am resolved to obey the injunction. You are well aware Thomas, that in writing you this letter, I am transgressing the circumscribed limits, laid down by tyrannical custom, for our sex. But why

⁹ I: 54-55, 78-79, 94-95. Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Orville H. Browning, April 1, 1838 (*ibid.*, I: 117-19,) facetiously describes their relationship.

¹⁰ Parthena Nance, sister of Thomas (see note 2).

¹¹ Jefferson Henry of Green County, Kentucky. He had been a member of the same literary society as Mary Owens and Thomas Nance at the Owens Seminary.

should I not indulge in this harmless gratification, prompted by genuine feelings of friendship? Wherein consists the impropriety of my corresponding with an absent Friend, and admitting at the same time, that Friend to be a Gentleman? We are beings formed for social intercourse, and I hold it admissible for us, to draw pleasure from what ever source we can, provided, it be an innocent one. Then, if I am condemned by the cold, unfeeling and fastidious of either Sex, I care not, for I trust, my Heart, has learned to rise superior to those groveling feelings, dictated by bosoms, that are callous to every refined emotion. I am much pleased to learn, that you intend visiting Green this Spring, for I can safely say, (without the slightest tinge of flattery) that you have many Friends here, whose Hearts beat high, at the thought of seeing you again, for my own part, I frankly acknowledge, that to me, it would be a treat of no every day occurrence, to see Thomas, and talk about days of Auld lang Sine. I can with pleasure say to you, that the infant cause of Temperance (which you left) has almost grown into manhood, shedding abroad its benign influence through our land. We now and then have an opposer on this subject, but they are fast hiding their diminished Heads, before the bursts of light perceptible to the most casual observer. From Mr. Henry, I learn the opposition you had met with, among your Anti-Temperance friends, and some of them, I fear, are allied to me, by the ties of consanguinity. Patience, and perseverance, will accomplish wonders, and you I sincerely hope, will ere long, reap the reward of your exertions. I know of no recent changes among your acquaintances, except the Marriage of Mr. Thomas Henry,¹² to Miss Certly, a Cousin of his. Jefferson is still single, retaining as much life and vivacity as ever. I saw Sam Sympton¹³ a few Days since, he was well, and speaks of visiting your State, perhaps, this Fall. Irvin will leave Green in a short time for Missouri, but says he intends returning in May, the opinion I believe, generally prevails, that Miss White, a Sister of Daniels,¹⁴ is the attraction which draws him back. Nancy and Ellen¹⁵ are here, and will not leave until Fall, at which time they contemplate on moving to Illinois.

Say to Parthena, if she is not married, that I will not ask a letter of her, but it would be greatly received at any time, when she can from interest, or amusement, write to her neglected Friend.

You will not fail to present my love to your Father & Mother¹⁶ in a particular manner, not forgetting Allen¹⁷ and Parthena, and except for yourself, the sincere regard of your Friend,

MARY S OWENS

¹² Brother of Jefferson Henry (see note 11).

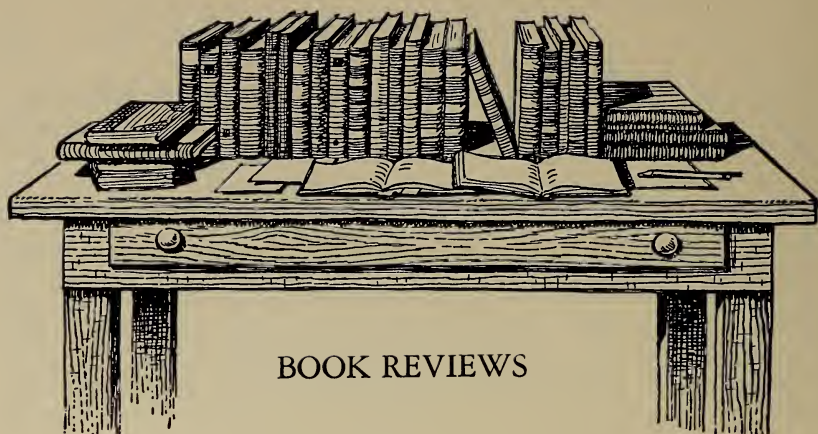
¹³ Samuel Sympton was also a member of the literary society at the Owens Seminary.

¹⁴ Daniel P. White, also a member of the literary society at the Owens Seminary.

¹⁵ Nancy and Ellen Owens, Mary's half-sisters. Three of Nancy's letters to Thomas J. Nance are in the Nance family records.

¹⁶ Zachariah and Elizabeth Bingley (Morris) Nance.

¹⁷ Allen Q. Nance, brother of Thomas (see note 2).



BOOK REVIEWS

Abraham Lincoln: the Prairie Years and the War Years. By Carl Sandburg.
(Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1954. Pp. 742.
\$7.50.)

Like the life of the man whom it portrays in such vivid and compelling words, this book "belongs to the ages." Carl Sandburg, recognized as one of the most noted Lincoln scholars, has compressed the study of a lifetime into 742 pages that give readers a "you are there" feeling about Lincoln, the places where he lived, the problems he faced, and the world as it was during that critical period. Few writers who had labored so long and so zealously in setting down over a million and a half carefully selected words would ever attempt the feat of eliminating more than two-thirds of them. But in distilling his monumental *Prairie Years* and *War Years* from six volumes into one, Sandburg has performed an even more monumental work by giving the world the story of Lincoln in one volume as only Sandburg could write it. This book will take its place along with Lord Charnwood's and Benjamin P. Thomas' in the group of essential one-volume Lincoln biographies.

Simply because there has been so much written about Lincoln, it has become increasingly difficult for the layman like myself to know where to locate, within a reasonable compass, a true and clear picture of the man and his times. In this volume the reader will find a rapidly moving account of a Lincoln who gathered strength and character from the rolling prairies and wooded hills of the Midwest to withstand the hurricanes of abuse, the tides of political intrigue and the passionate storms of hatred that assailed him. Students of history and politics will find in it stirring events told in proper perspective. Those with literary inclinations will be carried along by the style—the short, sharp Sandburgian sentences depicting dramatic events contrasted with the

Lincoln-told anecdotes, repeated in chuckling phrases, rolling along from comma to comma. The inclusion of a number of these, with their tension-relieving humor yet their aptness of illustration, makes Lincoln's rise to pre-eminence more understandable.

In the hearts of most of us there is a monument to Lincoln's greatness, sturdy and beautiful like the memorial to him in our nation's capital. From Sandburg's book we can fill that monument with memories of his humor, his compassion for all people, his political astuteness, his patience and his marvelous capacity to meet all manner of problems.

Cambridge, Illinois

W. D. OLSON

Love Is Eeternal: a Novel About Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln. By Irving Stone. (Doubleday & Company, Inc.: Garden City, N. Y., 1954. Pp. 468. \$3.95.)

The Illinois State Historical Library has been interested in Irving Stone's research on this biographical—rather than historical—novel on the controversial figure of Mary Todd Lincoln since its inception in February, 1952. Not only were its resources put at his disposal, but proof of the completed book was read and suggestions made, some of which were incorporated in the published text.

Many readers have queried as to the historical accuracy of *Love Is Eeternal*. The accepted facts of Mary Todd Lincoln's life have been followed fairly closely. Stone has taken some liberties in "grouping events time-wise," as in the incident between John T. Stuart and Stephen A. Douglas (pp. 38-39)—which occurred the year before Mary came to Springfield—the disguised Armstrong trial (p. 74) and Lincoln's troubles with the Todd relatives (pp. 442-43).

Among conflicting accounts Stone has chosen some which appear to be of doubtful authenticity. There is no historical record of the eighty acres in Indiana supposedly willed to Mary by her mother (pp. 62, 141). Lincoln was one of the managers of the Whig rally in Springfield in June, 1840, but is not listed among the many speakers (p. 84). The Houghan (later, B. S. Edwards) house—still standing—is of brick, not wood (p. 101). Lincoln's letter of April 1, 1838 to Mrs. Orville H. Browning describing his courtship of Mary Owens could not have been shown to Mary by Mrs. Simeon Francis in 1841 (p. 125).

Stone's version of the broken engagement and the wedding arranged for January 1, 1841 (pp. 117-19) fails to explain when the license was procured. Nor does Ninian Edwards' opposition to Abraham as a husband for his sister-in-law accord with William Yates' statement to Lincoln on May 22, 1863 that "I heard Mr. Edwards say . . . he helped you to get your wife."

Little Eddie Lincoln's funeral was on the morning of Saturday, February 2, 1850, the day after his death, rather than on Sunday (p. 203). Lincoln's hypochondria in the 1850's (pp. 217ff.) is exaggerated. Since he was not away for "two months" during 1856 Mary could not have had the house remodeled into a two-story structure without Abraham's knowledge (p. 265).

Only one questionable reminiscence places Mary Lincoln at the Ottawa debate (p. 284). Lincoln could hardly have escorted Mary to St. Louis on his way to Kansas in 1859, as he was in Springfield on Monday, November 28 and spoke in Elwood, Kansas on Wednesday evening. Thus he did not arrive on December 2, the day John Brown was executed (p. 306).

Stone follows a number of other writers who have erred in attributing a description of Lincoln's manner of speaking at Cooper Union to Noah Brooks (p. 309). Brooks was in California and did not come East until late in 1862.

One wonders what proof there is for Mary's trip to Decatur at the time of the state Republican convention in May, 1860 (p. 311). Candidate Lincoln's friends raised \$10,000, not \$5,000, to pay campaign expenses in Springfield in 1860 (p. 317). The story of Lincoln and Ann Rutledge was published in the *Menard County Axis* of Petersburg—not the "Menard, Illinois, *Axis*" (p. 389).

Veterans of Forts Henry and Donelson would scarcely have conceded that Shiloh was "the first major victory of the war" (p. 393). Vicksburg's capture did not put the entire Mississippi into Union hands (p. 420); not until Port Hudson surrendered six days later was the river free.

Rutgers University Press was responsible only for the *printing* of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*; the *editing* was done by the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield (p. 464). Although Stone did his research on Mary Lincoln simultaneously with but independent of Ruth Painter Randall, the omission of her *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* from his bibliography (p. 465) is a flaw in what many people will turn to as a trustworthy listing of the books written about Mrs. Lincoln up to the date of its publication.

These historical discrepancies, noted at random, are the more regrettable because the fascinating style of *Love Is Eternal* and its popularity (A Literary Guild selection, published abridged in *The Readers Digest of Condensed Books* and over 90,000 copies sold at bookstores) will make it *the* source of knowledge about Abraham and Mary Lincoln for many. Stone has justly received high praise for his fine background study of Lexington and Springfield. His painstaking study of the Lincolns and their milieu has resulted in a volume, sympathetic and generally accurate, which once picked up is hard to lay down.

H. E. P.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln: a Short, Illustrated Biography. By Stefan Lorant. (The New American Library of World Literature, Inc.: New York, 1955. Pp. 256. 50 cents.)

There are 180 illustrations on 108 of the 256 pages of this book for those who like pictorial biography. They include sixteen page-size pictures of Lincoln without a beard, and a like number of the bearded President. The photograph of Lincoln in his coffin is from the only known original print, now in the Illinois State Historical Library. In no other volume can you get so many fine Lincoln portraits for the price as in this Signet Key Book.

There are eight pages each of pictures of "The Houses Where He Lived," "Family and Friends," "Generals and the Cabinet," and "Highlights of His Life." Reproductions of most of the cartoons are too small to be informative.

The text is well balanced between Lincoln's first fifty-two years and his four years in the presidency. However, the page and a half devoted to Lincoln's twenty some years as a lawyer is inadequate. The necessary generalizations have led to several errors which the author will correct in a subsequent printing. The book has no bibliography, footnotes or index, and no proper acknowledgments of the location of original letters and documents used in facsimile.

This *Illustrated Biography* was first published in a cloth binding in the fall of 1954 by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. for \$3.50.

H. E. P.

The Day Lincoln Was Shot. By Jim Bishop. (Harper and Brothers: New York, 1955. Pp. 304. \$3.75.)

This is an hour-by-hour chronology of the activities of everyone connected with John Wilkes Booth and Abraham Lincoln in the last twenty-four hours and twenty-two minutes of the President's life. There is a chapter for each hour from 7 A.M. Friday, April 14 to 7:22 A.M. Saturday, April 15, when death came nine hours after the shot was fired.

In two additional chapters Bishop tells the story of the earlier abortive attempt to kidnap the President. As the nonentities sniveling around Booth, their source of food and liquor—Paine, Atzerodt, Herold, etc.—are introduced, the reader comes to loathe them and is amazed that even one of them played any active part in the murder plans of that Good Friday evening. There is only disgust for Booth's stupidity in proclaiming himself a hero in Southern eyes once the murder is committed.

You wish that Secretary of War Stanton had allowed Major Thomas T. Eckert to accompany Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln to Ford's Theatre. Eckert, a man of great strength, might have downed Booth before the fatal shot, or before

the eleven-foot leap to the stage, his strong arms wresting the knife from the assassin's hands. There is, however, even in Bishop's account of Stanton's bumbling detective work after the assassination, no such sinister undercurrent of suspicion as in Otto Eisenschiml's *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*

The long mid-day cabinet meeting, with Lincoln, ill and tired, working for unity on reconstruction plans with his advisers, is good reading. One rejoices at the rise of the President's spirits and wishes him a pleasant carriage ride at 5 P.M. with Mrs. Lincoln.

Tension mounts as Booth makes final preparations at the theater and calls his last rendezvous with his grisly crew, and the presidential carriage arrives. Seated in the box, almost invisible to the audience but enjoying the play, you turn to examine John F. Parker, the President's guard, and find him not on duty but in a nearby saloon. Why was such a known worthless scamp ever assigned to the White House?

The reader will like and respect twenty-three-year-old Dr. Charles Leale, the first physician to touch the dying Lincoln, and stand beside him and watch his hand clasping that of the President, hoping for a moment of consciousness before death comes. The reader also will share the vigil of Mrs. Lincoln, Robert, the cabinet and other notables.

Bishop's book may be, as he says, "pretty much a journalistic job," but it will transport Book-of-the-Month Club readers and others ninety years into the past. The two-page bibliography omits many essential volumes such as the one by Eisenschiml, and the four-page index is almost equally inadequate.

H. E. P.

Lincoln and Douglas: The Years of Decision. By Regina Z. Kelly. (Random House: New York, 1954. Pp. 184. \$1.50.)

Mary Todd Lincoln, Girl of the Bluegrass. By Katharine E. Wilkie. (Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1954. Pp. 192. \$1.75.)

Nancy Hanks, Kentucky Girl. By Augusta Stevenson. (Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1954. Pp. 192. \$1.75.)

Honest Abe, the Story of Abraham Lincoln. By Harry J. Albus. (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grand Rapids, Mich., 1954. Pp. 83. \$1.00.)

The latter part of 1954 saw the publication of an unusual number of books for young people on the Lincoln story. Regina Kelly's *Lincoln and Douglas* traces the history of slavery from the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 to Lincoln's inauguration in 1861, with its political implications, in language that teen-agers understand. There are chapters on the rise of Douglas and of

Lincoln, the birth of the Republican Party, and the troubles in Kansas. Particularly well done is the story of Lincoln's nomination, election and journey to Washington. This volume is one of the fifty commendable Landmark Books issued by Random House. The illustrations are good, the makeup attractive, and the index adequate.

The volumes on Lincoln's wife and his mother are in Bobbs Merrill's *Childhood of Famous Americans Series*. Delightfully written stories of Mary Todd's childhood and youth in Lexington, Kentucky, with exquisite illustrations make Katharine Wilkie's book recommended reading. It should be most effective if read aloud. Mary Todd is active, high-spirited, constantly finding new adventures, devoted to her pony Snowball and to the principle of learning by doing. The last two chapters tell about Mary's life in Springfield (1839-1861) and in the White House (1861-1865).

Though all the known facts concerning Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the President's mother, can be written in a very few pages, Miss Stevenson weaves together enough imaginative material to make a small book. Adept at storytelling, this is her nineteenth but not her best book in the series.

The Albus biography of Lincoln for children, stuffed with pious phrases, biblical references and questionable quotations of Lincoln, bares the author's unfamiliarity with the known facts. The book would hardly pass for "historical" fiction.

H. E. P.

Three Lincoln Masterpieces. Cooper Institute Speech—Gettysburg Address—Second Inaugural. By Benjamin Barondess. (Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc.: Charleston, 1954. Pp. 146. \$3.00.)

Readers will agree that Barondess has selected three of Lincoln's masterpieces. Each is read and quoted, and has an honored place in today's anthologies.

The author, a student of oratory and of Lincoln's life, has traced the background and the occasion of each speech and analyzed each. Lincoln's quotations from the Bible are explained, words have been classified according to the number of syllables, and the standing of the addresses in the fields of literature and oratory is set forth. The author's high regard for Lincoln's forensic efforts is clear.

Newspaper reaction to the Second Inaugural is quoted extensively. The text of the addresses is taken from the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association edition, 1953). Footnotes are in the back of the book along with a satisfactory index.

H. E. P.



LINCOLN DAY OBSERVANCES

Governor William G. Stratton headed a large group who paid homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln in ceremonies at his Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery during the twenty-first annual pilgrimage of the American Legion on February 12. Fifteen wreaths were placed at the Tomb by representatives of the Legion and associated organizations, including Colonel Richard D. Boerem, senior army adviser, Illinois National Guard, on behalf of President Dwight D. Eisenhower; Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the Legion; Mrs. Percy A. Lainson, national president, American Legion Auxiliary; Irving Breakstone, commander of the department of Illinois; and Mrs. Omar J. McMackin, Illinois department president of the auxiliary.

Despite sub-zero weather several other groups and a large number of individuals also visited the Tomb during the day. Twenty members of the Sangamon County Bar Association hiked the two miles from the courthouse to the Tomb, as has been their custom for some years.

On the following day the Illinois department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars made their annual pilgrimage, as did national president Joseph Barr and representatives of the Jewish War Veterans.

Also on Lincoln's Birthday were the ceremonies marking the opening to the public of the second floor and the redecorated first floor of the Lincoln Home (see pages 5-27). Brief addresses were made by Robert G. Miley, superintendent of the Division of Parks and Memorials, representing Governor Stratton, and by Mrs. Edward Price of Chicago, president of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Illinois. Mrs. William T. Bacon of Winnetka, chairman of the historical activities committee of the Colonial Dames, and Mr. Miley cut the ribbon across the door-

way. Following the ceremony, the Colonial Dames and their guests toured the Lincoln shrines and the Executive Mansion, and attended a tea at the Illinois State Historical Library.

SPRING TOUR AT JACKSONVILLE MAY 13-14

Ray A. Billington, professor of history at Northwestern University, will speak on "Savagery vs. Civilization on the American Frontier: the Fur Trappers" at the Friday dinner of the spring meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Jacksonville. Other speakers on the two-day program, May 13-14, will be Walter B. Hendrickson, professor of history and government at MacMurray College, discussing the early history of the state institutions in Jacksonville; Ernest G. Hildner, Jr., dean and professor of history at Illinois College, on the early history of the colleges of Illinois; and Carl E. Robinson, Jacksonville attorney and member of the board of trustees of Illinois College, on the national figures associated with Jacksonville. The speaker Saturday evening will be Francis X. Busch, Chicago attorney and author.

C. P. McClelland, past president of the Society, is general chairman. William K. Selden, president of Illinois College, is chairman of the program committee. When arrangements are complete members of the Society will receive a printed program and reservation blanks. Headquarters will be at the Dunlap Hotel. Tours are being planned to include the Braille and Sight-Saving Institution and the Illinois School for the Deaf, Jacksonville's industrial plants and historic sites.

LINCOLN ISSUE OF *JUNIOR HISTORIAN*

The *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, published its seventh annual Abraham Lincoln issue in February. The cover design, a profile drawing of a head of Lincoln, was done by Ralph Peterson of Rock Island. Joan Kielyan of Vandalia wrote a story on Volk's life mask of Lincoln and illustrated it by a photograph which she took and processed. The other articles in the issue are by Michael Dry, Chicago; Laurel Cappa and Lynn Dewey, Dixon; Bill Walsh, Dwight; Joanna Norris, Jacksonville; Alison Lee Knight and Diane Priller, Oregon; Gary R. Planck, Pekin; Wallace Wold, Rockford; and Joyce Ann Stark, Waukegan. Among these articles are: "Robert R. Hitt, Helpful Reporter"; "First Oil Painting of Lincoln"; "Lincoln's Visit to Waukegan"; "The Portrait on the Penny"; "Ingenious Abe: Patent No. 6469"; "Lincolns and Grigsbys at Pigeon Creek."

Copies of this issue are available at 20 cents each from Elwin W. Sigmund, director of the Junior Historian program.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF LINCOLN CALENDARS

In 1931 the Chicago & Illinois Midland Railway Company put out a calendar with a picture of the Lincoln Home. From 1932 through 1955 the company's annual calendar has featured a color reproduction of a specially commissioned painting of some phase of Lincoln's life, with approximately a hundred words of explanatory text. Black-and-white reproductions of the complete series of pictures, with reprints of the texts, appear in the February issue of *Cimco News*, the company's magazine. A reproduction of the famous Lincoln photograph taken by Alexander Gardner in November, 1863 (Messerly 59) is on the cover, and there is also a letter from President Fred L. Schrader of the railroad, and photographs and biographical sketches of Paul M. Angle and Jay Monaghan who wrote the texts, and Reynolds Jones, artist for the last eight years. The paintings from 1932 through 1944 were by Fletcher Ransom, and from 1945 through 1947 by Lane K. Newberry.

The first twenty pictures concern Lincoln's New Salem years; the last four depict him as a circuit rider, candidate for the Senate, presidential nominee, and bidding farewell to Springfield.

LINCOLN SCHOLARS HONORED

Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winner for his *A Stillness at Appomattox*, the last of a trilogy of Civil War books, was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor for 1954 by Lincoln Memorial University on June 7, 1954.

Mrs. Ruth Painter Randall was awarded a degree of doctor of literature by MacMurray College, Jacksonville, in recognition of her contribution as author of *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*, at ceremonies on June 6.

Dr. and Mrs. Harry E. Pratt were awarded doctorates of literature by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois, on May 31 in a unique joint citation for their contributions to Lincolniana and Illinois history.

Dr. J. T. Dorris, author of *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson*, was awarded the degree of doctor of letters at the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of Illinois College on January 14, 1955.

BOOKLET ABOUT SPRINGFIELD

The Springfield Association of Commerce and Industry has published an attractive thirty-six-page booklet setting forth the capital city's advantages as a business and industrial location. Titled *A Look at Springfield, Illinois* it contains much current factual information in easy-to-digest form under such headings as "Resources," "Transportation," "Labor" and "Utilities." The section "This Is Springfield" which covers the city's government and civic enterprises is particularly comprehensive but the "Historical" part fails to do justice to the subject.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The November program of the Alton Area Historical Society was devoted to Illinois state parks. A color film from the state Department of Conservation was shown by Horace Wollerman. Officers elected at this meeting include: John J. Lemp, president; Clarence Sargent, vice-president; Mrs. William Walter, treasurer; Margaretha Zeltmann, secretary.

In December "Christmas through the Years" was presented by Mesdames Frank J. Stobbs, Thomas Morgan, Allen Lawrence, Bert Waggoner and Harry L. Meyer.

At the January meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society Lelia Allison presented to the group her recently completed book *The History of Wayne County*. Mrs. Carro Craig Long spoke about a school opened in Albion September 25, 1839 by her great-grandmother Mary A. Craig.

Knox County Historic Sites, Incorporated, held its second annual dinner on January 25 at the Knoxville Presbyterian Church. Glenn Glass, a fourth-generation Knox County resident who has a remarkable collection of Indian relics, talked to the group about the Indians who lived in Knox County.

William Foley, Alvah Gehring, Gene Hebard, Richard R. Larson, Wayne R. Rosene, John A. Scribbens, Martin P. Sutor, A. L. Thompson, C. E. Van Norman and Robert Woolsey were elected directors for a three-year term. Mrs. Willard Sipes and Carlisle Smith were elected to fill the unexpired terms of Mr. Ben Frankenberger and James Barrett. Mrs. Irving Garcelon, president of the group, presided. Knox County Historic Sites has for its immediate project the restoration of the Knoxville Courthouse.

At the November meeting of the Mattoon Historical Society George Pendell reviewed plans for the celebration in 1955 of Mattoon's centennial. In January Dr. Charles H. Coleman spoke on "Captain Abraham Lincoln."

The golden anniversary of the founding of the Morgan County Historical Society was celebrated at a testimonial dinner meeting in Jacksonville on November 18. Miss Fidelia N. Abbott reviewed the Society's history and accomplishments. Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on "The Value of History in a Time of Crisis."

The Ogle County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Oregon on November 29. Dr. Stewart Thomson was the principal speaker. Tentative officers of the group are: Mrs. A. M. Beebe, president; Mrs. Harold Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Robert E. Etnyre, recording secretary; Mrs. Ivan Kuntzelman, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Yale Bates, treasurer. Ella Chaney, Ruby Nash, and these officers were the incorporators of the Society. The

second meeting of the group was held on February 28 at the Tilton School auditorium in Oregon.

At the November meeting of the Peoria Historical Society E. C. Bessler spoke on "Thanksgiving in the Civil War Days." In January the group saw two motion pictures—"Archaeology of Prehistoric Mexico," shown by Dr. Dan Morse who made the pictures last summer, and Walter Muller's film of his 1948 trip to Europe.

The Rockton Township Historical Society sponsored a public card party on January 20. Funds received from the affair will be used to help finance the remodeling of the Stephen Mack home.

The Saline County Historical Society held a brief memorial service for Fred H. Wasson on January 4, with William H. Farley as chairman. At the same meeting Paul A. Frick, feature editor of the *Marion Daily Republican*, summarized the history of Williamson County.

Officers of the Society elected in February include: Louis Aaron, president; Scerial Thompson, Mary Lindsay and Mrs. Ila Choisser, vice-presidents; James Bond, secretary-treasurer; and D. F. Rumsey, a director. Mrs. Walter Sutton spoke on "Abraham Lincoln, His Formative Years in Indiana."

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford held its annual dinner meeting of officers and directors on February 6 in the Erlander Home Museum. Plans for the midsummer festival and other events were discussed.

At the January 11 meeting of the Vandalia Historical Society Joseph C. Burtschi was elected president; Josephine Burtschi, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Perkins, secretary; and C. F. Houston, treasurer. A paper, "Flowers of Capital Days," based on research by Mary and Josephine Burtschi, was read by Irene Schenker. It dealt with flowers common to Vandalia when it was the state capital. The Society has adopted the lilac as its floral symbol, and will launch a campaign for the planting of lilac bushes in Vandalia.

On February 25 the group met in the House of Representatives of the old Statehouse. Mary and Josephine Burtschi gave an illustrated lecture entitled "Historic Vandalia."

The Wayne County Historical Society is helping to raise funds for a new public library building in Fairfield. The Society will have space in the building to house its historical collections. President Wasson W. Lawrence presided at a meeting in January when plans were made for the fund drive.

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JAMES HALL, PIONEER VANDALIA EDITOR AND PUBLICIST

BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

IN AN early gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri Dr. Lewis C. Beck gave a brief description of Vandalia. "The site is high and undulating," he remarked, "and entirely above the inundations of the river." There was a temporary state-house, a brick bank, 150 dwellings and about 700 people, including professional men and mechanics of every description. Although Beck cautiously remarked that other sites might have been better for the capital, he thought Vandalia would grow. Already 150 lots had been sold at an average price of \$234.89, and the aggregate amount of lot sales had reached \$35,000. Despite the absence of a year-round navigable river Vandalia was favorably situated, the climate was agreeable, the soil fertile, water abundant. "The advantages of Vandalia," Beck concluded, "are by no means few or inconsiderable."¹

When James Hall became a permanent resident of Van-

¹ Lewis C. Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (Albany, 1823), 161-62.

John T. Flanagan, professor of English at the University of Illinois, delivered this paper on James Hall at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Vandalia last October. Dr. Flanagan has been a frequent contributor to this Journal, his most recent article having been "Letters by John Mason Peck" which he edited for the Autumn, 1954 issue.

dalia a few years later, in 1826, he was much more enthusiastic. In an early number of his magazine he provided a glowing account of the young prairie town. The site of Vandalia, he thought, was remarkably handsome, with well-drained land, a rolling terrain, plenty of timber not too far distant, transportation assured by the Kaskaskia River, and excellent soil. His tabulation of farm prices for the period would suggest today a kind of rural utopia: beef and pork at a maximum of \$2.50 per hundred pounds; venison hams 25 cents a pair; turkeys 12½ cents apiece; chickens 75 cents to \$1 a dozen; butter up to 15 cents a pound; eggs no more than 12 cents a dozen; honey 50 cents a gallon; apples 50 cents a bushel; and cabbages as much as \$1 per hundred.² These prices were probably typical of the rates in most Illinois communities of the period, and Hall was simply a good reporter in recording them; nevertheless, the economic profusion and relatively low costs must have been factors in inducing him to remain in Vandalia for half a dozen years.

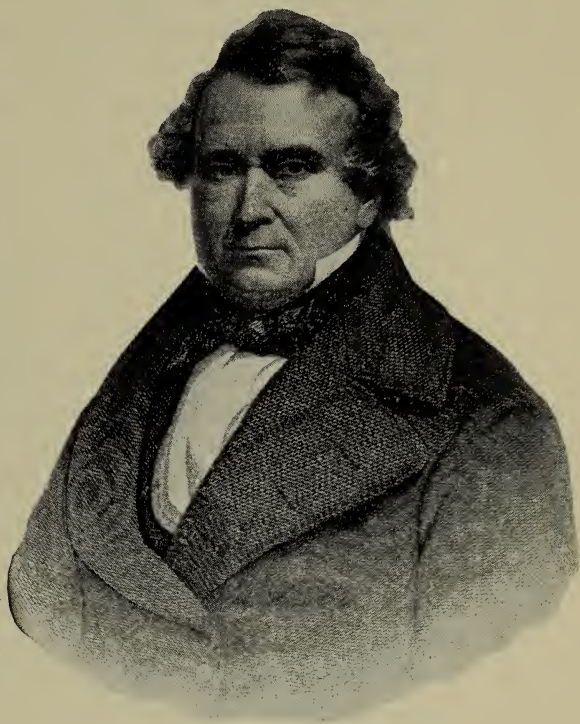
When Hall became closely linked with life in the young state capital he was in his middle thirties and had already spent six years in Illinois. He had tried various careers. After service in the War of 1812 he remained in the army for several years, then resigned his commission and studied law at Pittsburgh. In the spring of 1820 he came down the Ohio River on a keelboat and got off at Shawneetown where after some years as an attorney he was named prosecutor and subsequently circuit judge in Gallatin and other southern Illinois counties.³ He also found time to edit the *Illinois Gazette* in partnership with Henry Eddy. In the early 1820's Hall contributed sketches of Western life and manners to the *Port Folio*, then edited in Philadelphia by his brother John

² James Hall, "Vandalia," *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, II (Jan., 1832), 172-76.

³ The *Illinois Gazette* [Shawneetown] for Aug. 5, 1826 announced a suit for divorce to be heard before Judge Hall of Gallatin County, and the issue of Sept. 30 stated that a citizen accused of stealing a mare had recently been admitted to bail by Judge Hall. Therefore Hall can hardly have left Shawneetown for Vandalia before early fall, 1826.

E. Hall.⁴ These sketches were assembled in book form and published in London in 1828 under the title *Letters from the West*. Later in his life Hall would add to the professions of soldier, lawyer, editor and jurist those of novelist, poet and banker. Truly he exemplified the amazing versatility of talented men in the early days; and whatever he did, he did well.

The general outline of Hall's activity in Vandalia is well known, but no specific account has ever been published.⁵ The files of the *Illinois Intelligencer*, of which he was half owner from 1829 to 1832, reveal much miscellaneous data. Besides the newspaper Hall edited a literary annual and a literary magazine while living at Vandalia. He was active in promoting the first historical society of the state; he interested himself in the founding and support of Illinois College at Jacksonville; he aided a boarding school for young ladies and helped organize the first Vandalia High School; he was active in forming an Illinois Lyceum Society; he worked with John Mason Peck



Yours Truly
James Hall

⁴ John Elihu Hall edited the *Port Folio* from 1816 to 1827. James Hall's contributions appeared in 1821 and 1822.

⁵ Esther Shultz, "James Hall in Vandalia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIII (Apr., 1930), 92-112; John T. Flanagan, *James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley* (Minneapolis, 1941), especially pp. 45-62.

and others to sustain a state Bible Society; and he labored to create a strong temperance movement in the state. He devoted a good deal of his time to philanthropy, religion and education. There was no intellectual or cultural movement in Illinois between 1825 and 1832 in which Hall was not interested or active, and in most of them he was a promoter, sponsor, or permanent officer of the organization.

By the early winter of 1826-1827 Hall was definitely a resident of Vandalia. Yet he may have doubted for a while the wisdom of his change of residence, as one of the first laws of the new session of the General Assembly abolished circuit judgeships and transferred their duties to the judges of the state Supreme Court. The judges thus legislated out of office (John York Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young and Hall) protested the action in a letter published in the *Intelligencer* of January 27, 1827 on both legal and practical grounds. The legislature, they argued, had no legal right to take such action, and also it was inexpedient to expect the Supreme Court justices to perform double duties. Nevertheless Hall was stripped of his formal title of judge—though he was called Judge Hall for many years. The same legislature proceeded almost immediately to elect him state treasurer.⁶ But this position, flattering as it must have been to the ex-judge, was neither remunerative nor arduous enough to satisfy him. Several issues of the *Intelligencer*, beginning February 24, 1827, carried the following announcement:

JAMES HALL

Will practice LAW in the Supreme and Federal Courts, at Vandalia, and in the Circuit Courts of Fayette, and the adjoining counties.

The *Intelligencer* for December 22, 1827 devoted its whole first page to the details of the formation of a new society to develop interest in the archaeology and history of

⁶ *Illinois Intelligencer* [Vandalia], Feb. 10, 1827.

Illinois.⁷ Hall was elected the first president and the paper printed his initial speech in full. He spoke of the need for preserving records before the data disappeared; he wished the Indian mounds to be explored, geological and economic facts to be recorded and the memories and experiences of pioneer settlers to be written down before time ran out. While Hall was not a professional historian, he had a strong desire to record the life around him insofar as that was possible. The society had a very short life and was defunct before he left the state; it probably would not have existed at all without the stimulus he provided.

Early in 1828 Hall and other Vandalia citizens were appointed to survey the Kaskaskia River in order to see how navigable it was or could be made, and to estimate the cost of removing obstacles to ships passing between Vandalia and the Mississippi.⁸ Hall had already declared that the Kaskaskia was navigable for at least six months of the year, and presumably his enthusiasm had not diminished. But there is no record that the committee ever reported any workable plan to achieve the desired end. In the summer of the same year the commissioner entrusted with finding a suitable route for the National Road arrived at Vandalia. The citizens gave him and his chief surveyor a public dinner at John D. Gorin's hotel. Hall presided at the dinner and officially welcomed the guests.⁹ In December the legislature named George Forquer as attorney general and Hall for another term as state treasurer. Fifty-one legislators voted for him and two negatively but apparently for no other candidate. Previously he had been named only on the ninth ballot.¹⁰

The first page of the January 3, 1829 *Intelligencer* was given over to Hall's second annual address as president of the

⁷ For a fuller account of this early Illinois historical society see John T. Flanagan, "James Hall and the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIV (Dec., 1941), 439-52.

⁸ *Ill. Intelligencer*, Mar. 1, 1828.

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1828.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1828.

Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois. He pleaded for more active support of the society and outlined many factors which he thought it worth while for historians to investigate: minerals, agriculture, transportation, population trends, animal life, manufacturing. In a burst of Western patriotism he emphasized the superiority of life in the trans-Allegheny area because the newer states had abolished imprisonment for debt, outlawed usury, simplified governmental administration and made suffrage more general. His interest in Western antiquities and history was as strong as ever.

A notice in the *Intelligencer* for January 10, 1829 read:

TEN DOLLARS REWARD

Strayed,

From the subscriber, at Vandalia, about the 10th day of November last, a large light sorrel HORSE, 15 or 16 hands high, with a star on his face, and three or four white feet. Any person who will return him to me shall receive the above reward, and my thanks, for his trouble.

JAMES HALL

The amount of the reward suggests that the lost horse had some special sentimental or economic value for the owner, since many notices of runaway slaves offered much less for the apprehension of the fugitives.

In January, 1829 Hall purchased a half interest in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, thus becoming a partner with Robert Blackwell, previous editor and publisher. The new firm issued the paper until they disposed of it in March, 1832. The prospectus published in the issue of January 17, 1829 stated that the paper would be conducted jointly by Blackwell and Hall, "the editorial department being committed chiefly into the hands of Mr. Hall." The editors promised to observe the principles of fairness, honesty, accuracy and completeness of coverage. "In politics we shall be moderate, but not neutral," they declared, observing that if private citizens had the right to speak their minds freely, editors should have the

same privilege. Both men had previously supported the presidential candidacy of John Quincy Adams, but announced that they would support Andrew Jackson since the General was the majority choice for head of the nation. Politics anyway, they continued with possibly a wry note, was less important than certain other matters; and they emphasized their interest in agriculture, the rising tide of immigration and the increase in the state's population, commerce, literature and the arts.

The *Intelligencer* quickly became the outstanding newspaper of the state. At a time when telegraph service did not exist and the infrequent mails brought the only news, it carried surprisingly full accounts of congressional action, presidential proclamations, commercial transactions and even some foreign events. Many of its dispatches, obviously old when they appeared, still must have been fresh to many a reader. Each issue contained four pages of four columns each (except for lengthly supplements listing land assessments) printed in rather small type on good stock.

The first page was usually devoted to summaries of news from Washington and to political information generally. There were occasional long communications from men currently active in Illinois politics—Ninian Edwards, Joseph Duncan, William Kinney and Edward Coles. Many of these epistles ran over onto page two as well. On the third page were local news, editorials, letters to the editor, announcements, quoted material, information about the weather and the rivers. The fourth page usually contained what we should term classified advertising. The *Intelligencer* seldom printed what are now called human interest stories; it underplayed news of crime or violence and almost ignored social activities. Sports did not exist for it; it used no pictures and provided no stock market information, and its editors had fortunately—or unfortunately—never heard of comic strips. Nevertheless it was not lacking in diversity and appeal.

The political communications were more vehement, more

rhetorical and often more literate than those published today. Rivals for office plastered mud and flung epithets in fine style and in grand disdain for libel suits with or without congressional immunity. Accusations and counter-accusations, indictments and denials filled column after column. The paper carried announcements of deaths, weddings, land sales, probate court proceedings and estate settlements. Notices of lost or stolen animals were frequent, and horses and cows which had been found were listed as "Taken Up." Rewards for fugitive slaves were announced, as well as suits for divorce and warnings against counterfeiters and horse thieves. Steamboat explosions or sinkings were given a paragraph, and criminal assaults were occasionally recorded. Merchants published requests for beeswax and dried venison hams, and more than one husband declared that he would no longer be responsible for any debts contracted by a wife who had left his bed. In general the writing, in its long paragraphs and somewhat stilted language, reflected a more formal age than our own.

Hall, like most pioneer editors, faced economic and mechanical difficulties in editing the *Intelligencer*. He had to rely on out-of-state sources for such elementary needs of a printing office as ink and paper. If the steamboats were delayed by high water or ice, the paper was likely to come out late or to miss an issue. The editor had to make curious apologies at times. "No paper was published at this office last week," said the *Intelligencer* of March 6, 1830. "The cause was unavoidable." One might speculate whether Hall's wife was sick or the family had had too many visitors.¹¹ A similar explanation appeared about a year later: "No paper was issued from this office last week. We were compelled to suspend the publication to enable us to complete the public work in time."¹² (Robert Blackwell still retained his position as

¹¹ During his residence in Vandalia Hall extended hospitality to various visitors. Julian M. Sturtevant, *An Autobiography* (Chicago, 1896), 174, reported that he had met Theron Baldwin, a fellow-missionary, at Hall's house where Baldwin was boarding.

¹² *Ill. Intelligencer*, June 11, 1831.

state printer.) On January 21, 1832 Hall again apologized for the non-appearance of the previous number. His stock of newsprint having given out, he said, he had arranged with the editor of the Edwardsville paper to furnish a sufficient supply. But the Edwardsville editor chose that particular week to get married, and this event made him forget all other engagements. "We wish him much joy in his new undertaking," said Hall, "but should have been much better pleased, if he had not caused a suspension of one week of our paper."

More vexatious than the lack of printing supplies was the non-payment of subscriptions. Despite Hall's frequent reminders to his patrons to pay their \$3 per annum in advance and the editorial suggestion that they accept an eleventh commandment "Pay the Printer," subscribers were consistently in arrears. A jingle published in the *Intelligencer* of March 9, 1826 amusingly pictures a publisher's perennial woes:

A PRINTER'S APOLOGY

For asking his subscribers to pay for the paper.

Out of wood—and clothing scant—
 Dry goods due for—hats in want—
 Children fretful—wife complaining—
 Credit difficult sustaining—
 Notes to manage—discounts rare—
 Debts enough—can't live on air—
 Though I would by no means DUN ye—
 Think ye—do not I want MONEY?

Most of the newspapers of the time were party organs or frankly dedicated to the support of a particular candidate for state or national office. The *Illinois Intelligencer* was never a mere propaganda sheet, although, as stated in the original prospectus, it was not always neutral in political contests. Though Kinney had favored Jackson, Hall, his personal and usually political friend, supported him in the race for the governorship in 1830. The group supporting John

Reynolds made some bitter personal attacks on Hall. From the mild comment, "Mr. Kinney and Mr. Hall have always been political friends, except in the late Presidential contest, and it is not remarkable that they should remain so,"¹³ Hall came to protest against scurrilous attacks and "those indecorous aspersions upon the private character of Mr. Hall,"¹⁴ and to devote much of the *Intelligencer* of July 10, 1830 to a justification of his private and public record.

Hall disclaimed any great participation in politics before the beginning of the current campaign. "My habits are domestic, and my pursuits literary," he asserted. He pointed out that he had resided for more than ten years in Illinois and had held the positions of circuit attorney, circuit judge and state treasurer. He defended his conduct in these offices and provided data about financial transactions while he was a state officer. He admitted membership in the Presbyterian church. His final statement indicates clearly his anger over the charges: "I defy my villifiers to shew this statement to be incorrect. I have taken a stand in favor of the people, against those who would impose upon them, and am not to be driven from my post either by abuse or BY THREATS."

One of the charges revived by his political opponents related to the manner in which Hall had left military service. Young Hall had bitterly resented a certain assignment given him by an arrogant and apparently incompetent superior. He had been court-martialed for insubordination and sentenced to be dismissed; presidential intervention, however, reduced the sentence to an official rebuke, and Hall was shortly thereafter restored to his rank of first lieutenant in the ordnance department. Soon afterward, in 1818, he resigned his commission.¹⁵ The situation might be roughly compared with that in Herman Melville's *Billy Budd*, in which the protagonist

¹³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1830.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1830.

¹⁵ For a more detailed account of this whole episode see Flanagan, *James Hall*, 17-20.

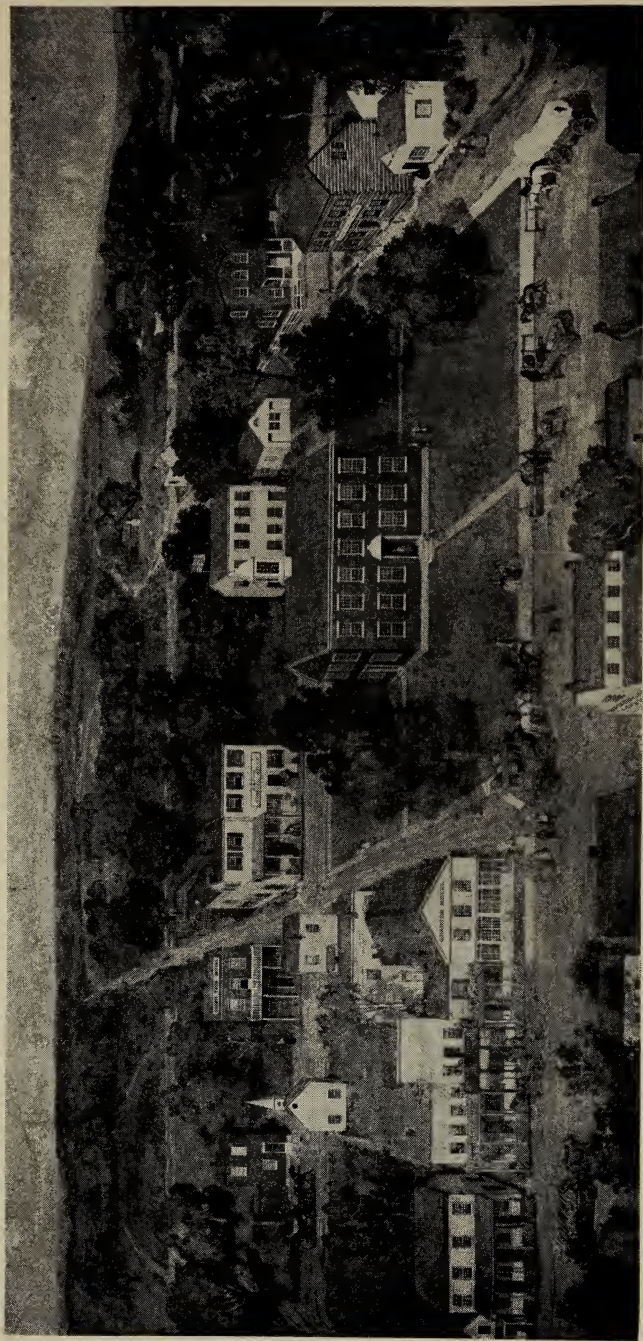
has moral right on his side but suffers the penalty demanded for an infraction of military discipline. Hall was undoubtedly sensitive about this part of his past and incensed by the political muckraking which dredged up a case closed twelve years before. In the next *Intelligencer* he printed a letter from General Thomas Biddle, Hall's commander at the battle of Chippewa in 1814, who testified to Hall's integrity and military competence.

In the *Intelligencer* for August 21 Hall announced Reynolds' victory over Kinney without comment, then turned again to the personal charges directed at himself and called on the author of an anonymous calumny (whom he supposed to be Judge Theophilus W. Smith) to identify himself and prove his charges: "If the writer will not avow himself, he must take his rank among the secret editors, the Vandalia letter writers, and other anonymous calumniators, whose statements demand no notice from me." With the end of this campaign Hall apparently withdrew from active editorial participation in politics, though he continued to print letters and speeches by ranking members of both parties.

It was probably with relief that Hall turned to other and less controversial activities in Vandalia. On January 30, 1830 at a meeting of Vandalia citizens for the purpose of organizing a high school, Hall had moved that the group be called the Vandalia High School Society and that a constitution be adopted.¹⁶ The Vandalia High School officially opened early in November with John Russell of Bluffdale as the first principal. The school catered primarily to boys, but a female department was contemplated. Board was offered by Vandalia citizens at \$1 per week. The five trustees of the school were Elijah C. Berry, James Whitlock, John D. Gorin, James M. Duncan and James Hall.

In June of the same year Hall, as one of the vice-presidents, presided at a meeting of the Bible Society of the State

¹⁶ *Ill. Intelligencer*, Feb. 6, 1830.



LINCOLN'S VANDALIA—ILLINOIS STATE CAPITAL

This eight-by-eighteen-foot mural in the dining room of the Evans Hotel in Vandalia was dedicated in October, 1954. It is the work of St. Louis artist John Matthew Heller and is based on research by Joseph C. Burrschi, president of the Vandalia Historical Society. The Statehouse (erected in 1836) in the middle of the picture faces south. To the right—across the street east—is the two-story log hotel built for Ferdinand Ernst in 1819. Immediately behind the Statehouse is the Robert K. McLaughlin home where the governor lived during legislative sessions. To the

west is the Ebenezer Capps store, largest in southern Illinois at the time. On the corner in the left foreground is the Charters Hotel, on the site of the present-day Evans Hotel. The two figures shaking hands behind the stagecoach at the corner are Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, who served together in the legislature at Vandalia. This was the period when James Hall was in Vandalia and published the *Illinois Intelligencer* across the street from the Charters. The second capitol (1824-1836), a two-story brick building, stood at the rear

of Illinois at Vandalia.¹⁷ He was one of the managers of the State Sunday School Union organized at Jacksonville with John Tillson as president and John Mason Peck and John Russell vice-presidents.¹⁸

Hall continued his multifarious activities throughout 1831. Though defeated by John Dement 27 votes to 22 with three scattering for another term as treasurer,¹⁹ he was one of the directors of the Fayette County Temperance Society of which John D. Gorin was president.²⁰ On December 8 Hall, Julian M. Sturtevant, Thomas Lippincott and John Russell were named to prepare a constitution for the Illinois State Lyceum, of which Hall was elected a vice-president to serve with President Edward Beecher.²¹ As president of the Vandalia Lyceum Hall gave the first of a series of public lectures to be sponsored by the organization at the Vandalia Statehouse on February 14, 1832—topic not stated. "The object," said the *Intelligencer* of February 18, "shall be the dissemination of useful Knowledge, by the delivering of lectures, or other exercises, to be approved by the executive committee, in a popular form, on scientific, literary, practical and useful subjects."

The *Intelligencer* of December 24, 1831 advertised:

PRINTING OFFICE FOR SALE

Both the Subscribers being engaged in other business, and unable to give to the conducting of this paper the attention which their own interests, and a proper respect to the public, requires, they are willing to dispose of the ILLINOIS INTELLIGENCER, with all the type, furniture, &c. of the office. The establishment is large, and materials in good order. Further particulars may be had on application to the subscribers or either of them.

BLACKWELL & HALL.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1830. The issue of Jan. 8, 1831 also referred to Hall as vice-president of the Bible Society.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1830.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1831.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1831.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1831.

After the issue of March 3, 1832 S. C. Sherman purchased the *Intelligencer* and combined it with his *Illinois Whig* (established the previous year) as *Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer*. Hall's valedictory editorial surveyed in a general way the past years of the paper, calling attention to the editor's decision to pursue a middle-of-the-road policy:

Our unwillingness to enlist our own feelings in the angry storms of politics, had induced us to endeavor to pursue a moderate course, which would leave us at liberty to approve or condemn without reference to mere party considerations. Believing the interests of the state, and our country, more important than those of political men or parties, we have been willing to abstain from the discussion of questions which we considered as involving feeling rather than principle. If we have given less satisfaction to some of our ardent friends by this course, we are sure that it has left us less to regret.

Thus Hall's career as a newspaper editor in Illinois ended after two years in Shawneetown and three in Vandalia.

During his Vandalia residence, however, he also edited a literary annual and a monthly magazine, both unique in the state at that time. About a year before Hall acquired his interest in the *Intelligencer*, N. & G. Guilford, Cincinnati booksellers, advertised for sale *A Western Souvenir, for 1829*, to be edited by James Hall. The announcement in the *Intelligencer* called attention to the superior typography and paper of the proposed volume, which it claimed would compare favorably with the literary annuals then being issued by Eastern publishers. Moreover, it had one unique distinction: "It will be written and published in the western country, by western men, embracing subjects connected with the history and character of the country which gives it birth."²² Prospective purchasers were promised a variety of material including tales, poetry, historical anecdotes and descriptions. Contributors were solicited, but were warned to submit only elegant and brief verse or descriptions which were both graphic and light.

²² *Ibid.*, May 10, 1828.

The literary annual enjoyed great vogue for several decades before the Civil War. Including miscellaneous contributions from many authors, it was embellished with engravings or woodcuts and was elegantly printed and bound. Publishers took care to issue their annuals in time for the Christmas trade, so that by New Year's Day many an ornate gift book could lie conspicuous on drawing-room tables. Hall's annual, the first to appear west of the Alleghenies, presumably followed the same practice. As the advertisement implied, the *Western Souvenir's* stories and verse came from Western pens and its illustrations were done by Cincinnati artists. Among the contributors were Otway Curry, Timothy Flint and Morgan Neville—the last with the first sketch to appear of the fabulous exploits of the Ohio River keelboatman Mike Fink. Hall provided at least half the material; three of his best stories—"The Indian Hater," "Pete Featherton" and "The French Village"—as well as some of his typical romantic verse appeared here for the first time. In an autobiographical account written much later, Hall spoke rather contemptuously of the *Souvenir* as "poorly got up—printing, paper, plates, were all vile."²³ But it was a remarkable achievement—the best annual ever issued in the Ohio Valley, and comparing with the best of the period.²⁴

Hall's final literary activity in Vandalia was also his most ambitious: the publication of a monthly literary magazine in a region where potential contributors were few, literate readers scarce and printing expenses unavoidably high. It is amazing that he was able to issue two complete volumes (October, 1830-September, 1832) and then carry the magazine with him to Cincinnati and continue it as the *Western Monthly Magazine* until June, 1836.

The *Intelligencer* for February 13, 1830 carried the pro-

²³ David Donald, ed., "The Autobiography of James Hall, Western Literary Pioneer," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LVI (July, 1947), 299.

²⁴ According to the *Intelligencer* of Feb. 20, 1830, a second issue of the *Western Souvenir* was projected. It never appeared.

spectus of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, to be published by Blackwell & Hall and edited by Hall. It was to sell for \$3 a year; each number would contain 48 pages octavo. If a sufficient number of subscribers could be found, it would begin with August, 1830. Actually the first issue did not appear until October. Hall explained the postponement in the *Intelligencer* for September 11 as due to other business in the printing office and an understandable desire to produce as good a magazine as possible. Hall was sanguine about his new project. "We commence the work with more flattering encouragement as to pecuniary support than had been anticipated for us by our friends, though not more than we had ourselves expected." On the other hand, the novel undertaking required considerable aid, and Hall frankly admitted that only "the united encouragement of the literary and the patriotic" would ensure success.

Hall hoped to develop the character and resources of Illinois—so read the prospectus—to furnish accurate information about various aspects of the state, to promote education and culture, and to awaken and cherish a taste for literature—the last being essential in a new country where it was least likely to be found. He did not intend to neglect science, since he felt that the geology, mineralogy, topography and zoology of his adopted state needed to be studied and known. In the preface to his first issue he amplified his prospectus, but admitted that he alone could not carry out his ambitious proposal. He needed contributors and was optimistic about finding them; he was also determined to keep the magazine literate and readable. Unfortunately his optimism gradually faded. Hall himself provided two-thirds or more of the contents of each of the first two volumes, and much of the rest was "selected" (copied with due acknowledgment) from other periodicals. Neither contributors nor subscribers supported the project in the volume necessary for survival.

Judged by any standards the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*

was a highly creditable achievement. Obviously modeled on such successful Eastern periodicals as the *North American Review*, it printed lengthy, serious, clearly written articles on a variety of subjects, including verse and criticism as well as expository and narrative prose. The table of contents reveals a quite extraordinary variety. Hall printed articles dealing with railroads, silk culture, the spasmodic cholera, the settlement of Mexico, steamboats, Peruvian highways, phrenology, Mississippi inundations, and an earthquake in Caracas. Occasional obituaries of Western figures appeared, as well as longer sketches of pioneers like Daniel Boone and Jedidiah Smith. Space was given to brief factual accounts of Illinois communities such as Vandalia, Danville, Alton and Peoria, and citizens of other towns were invited to contribute similar sketches. Hall found new books scarce in Vandalia, but managed to review volumes about the West by J. C. Beltrami, Dr. Daniel Drake, John J. Audubon, Timothy Flint and Mrs. Frances Trollope.²⁵ Half a dozen of Hall's own tales, including the excellent "Michel de Coucy" and "A Legend of Carondelet," appeared in the magazine. His valuable "Notes on Illinois," beginning in the November, 1830 issue, concerned specific aspects of Illinois soil, climate, commerce, agriculture, rivers and mineral wealth, and collectively formed a treatise on the economic geography of the young state. Hall was sanguine about the agricultural future of Illinois, despite what he called inept methods and inexperienced farmers:

Our husbandry is yet in a rude state. Wheat is often sowed in new land but partially cleared, often upon corn ground badly prepared; often covered carelessly with the plough, without any attempt to pulverize the soil, and very generally in fields which have produced an abundant crop of grass and weeds, during the preceding autumn. Few of our farmers have barns or threshing floors; the grain is preserved in stacks, and trodden out upon the ground, with considerable loss, and injury.²⁶

²⁵ Hall published a very critical review of Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* in the *Ill. Monthly Mag.*, II (Aug., 1832), 505-25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I (Dec., 1830), 126.

An amateur gardner himself, Hall felt that horticulture around Vandalia was little developed. "Farmers have no time to expend in furnishing their tables with mere luxuries." But those who had the time could produce superior fruits and vegetables. "Almost every farmer here, raises cabbages," he observed, "and we are sure that we have never seen larger or better." Indeed, Hall concluded, it would be strange if one could not produce garden plants in an area where the soil was unrivalled in depth, fertility and freshness.²⁷

Throughout his editorship of newspapers, annual and magazine Hall was an optimistic champion of the West. He liked the freshness and freedom of the great Western valleys and he saw flourishing around him a healthy democracy. In a number of books not part of the present story he recorded the financial and economic growth of the prairie states and constantly urged settlers to migrate to them. But he also worked diligently to preserve records which even in his time were fading. For in James Hall the sense of the past was as alive as the shape of the future. He had much to contribute to the young state of Illinois, and the twelve years of his residence saw him active in a multitude of constructive ways. If he won no great honors, he had the respect of those with whom he worked, and the many civic activities in which he played a role clearly indicate the general attitude toward him.

In the closing lines of his autobiographical sketch submitted by request to Evert A. Duyckinck in 1855, Hall claimed that what he had written was guided by the principles of morality and patriotism. "My subjects are all American, and they are treated in an independent American Spirit. If there is an American Literature, I hope to have a place, however humble, in it."²⁸ About the existence of an American literature there can today be no serious doubt. And James Hall's place in it is more secure than he in his humility prophesied.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 129-30.

²⁸ Donald, ed., "Autobiography of James Hall," 304.

WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN: BLIND MAN ELOQUENT

BY CLARENCE P. MCCLELLAND

ONE of the most gifted and interesting Illinoisans of the nineteenth century was William Henry Milburn. Although blind from boyhood, he acquired a broad culture and became an orator of unusual power. As a lecturer he was in great demand. He probably traveled farther and was known to more people in the English-speaking world than any other central Illinoisan. Among his friends were many of the most distinguished statesmen, writers, clergymen and business leaders of his time, particularly Longfellow and Carlyle. He published four books which, while perhaps not best sellers, circulated widely in America and England. He knew life on the Midwestern frontier, and talked and wrote about it most interestingly. In the preface to his longest book, *The Lance, Cross and Canoe; the Flatboat, Rifle and Plough*, he wrote:

The book has not been written for historical scholars and critics, but for the people and their children, and, therefore, while striving to be accurate and faithful in all statements of fact, I have sought to bring out, in popular form, the picturesque and romantic persons and events

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from the campaign of DeSoto to our own time, and to make it racy of the soil. . . . Much of my material, however, has been drawn at first-hand from the early settlers of the country. . . . I have known Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, since they were villages; and Pittsburg,⁸ Cincinnati, Cleveland, Louisville, St. Louis, and Memphis, when they were scarcely more. My wayfarings have brought me in contact with nearly every man of note that has appeared upon the stage of the West within the past half century.

Milburn was born in Philadelphia on September 26, 1823, the son of well-to-do and respected parents. His grandfather had served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. At the age of five, through a singular accident, Milburn became almost entirely blind, and, as he said toward the end of his long life, "I never saw the face of anyone to whom I spoke, although I have preached and lectured for more than half a century." A little playmate, picking a shining bit of glass from the ground, without thinking, threw it at William and struck him full in the eye, laying open the ball just below the pupil.



REV. WILLIAM H. MILBURN

The sharp agony of pain and the sight of dropping blood alarmed me [wrote Milburn years later], and I sped like a frightened deer to find my mother. Then followed days and weeks of silence, wherein a child lay with bandaged eyes upon his little couch, in a chamber without light, and which all entered with stealthy steps and muffled tones. . . . Our family physician, a tall, stern, cold man, of whom I had always been afraid . . . said that the cut had healed, and that all now needed to restore the sight entirely was the removal of the scar with caustic. How fearful

was the fiery torture that entered the eye and burnt there for days, I need not attempt to describe! . . . The doctor caught me between his knees, threw my head over his shoulder, thrust the caustic violently through the eye, and the light went out of it forever!¹

The other eye, the right one, had also become infected and inflamed, and for two years longer the boy was imprisoned in a darkened room. At the end of this period the right eye "retained the smallest possible transparent spot, not much larger than a pin's point, in the cornea and the pupil, through which the light might enter."² In a bright light, by bending forward at a certain angle, he could read once more, very slowly, of course, but nevertheless he could read. His quick receptive mind found much satisfaction in reading. Fortunately, his father possessed a good library and he spelled out volume after volume of history, biography, travel and fiction. He developed a phenomenal memory; for example, the chapter which his father read at morning prayers he could recite afterward verbatim. In an address delivered at the Publishers' Festival in the Crystal Palace, New York City, in 1855, Milburn said:

Time was, when after a fashion I could read, but never with that flashing glance, which instantly transfers a word, a line, a sentence from the page to the mind. It was the perpetuation of the child's process, a letter at a time, always spelling, never reading truly. . . . Nevertheless . . . I have found that knowledge is its own exceeding great reward. . . .

Could I have written the *Sketch Book* (turning to Mr. Irving), almost every word of which I had by heart, before I was eight years old; or could I have sung that ode commencing, "The Groves were God's First Temples" (turning to Mr. Bryant), which I committed to memory in a saddle on a western prairie, cheerfully would I have gone through life, binding this badge of infirmity upon my brow, to wear it as a crown; or groping in the unbroken darkness, so were it the Father's will, for three-score years and ten of man's appointed time.³

¹ Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life* (New York, 1859), 14-15.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

³ Milburn, *The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-Bags, and Other Lectures* (New York, 1857), xviii-xix.

In the panic of 1837 Milburn's father was ruined financially. Even his home was taken from him. "When . . . we looked around to see what was left," said Milburn, "we found that it consisted of honor, health, hope and our household furniture."⁴ In 1838 the family moved to a modest dwelling on East State Street, Jacksonville, almost directly opposite the front entrance of what is now MacMurray College. The father opened a small store on the town square, and during the rest of his life was one of Jacksonville's leading citizens.

Fifteen-year-old William served as a clerk in the store, but spent every spare moment on his books. His father, realizing that the boy would never be satisfied with anything less than a college education, employed a tutor for him, and in the autumn of 1839 he entered Illinois College. For three years, studying under the most trying conditions, he was able to keep up with his class, but in his senior year his health broke and he was obliged to leave his studies and live an outdoor life.

For several years young Milburn had enjoyed the friendship of the Rev. Peter Akers, the presiding elder of the Jacksonville District of the Methodist Church, then a much larger area than now. Akers was the only Methodist preacher in Illinois in those days with a college degree and by far the most scholarly and eloquent preacher in the whole region. In 1837 he preached a sermon near Springfield in which he attacked the evils of slavery and predicted a civil war in the decade between 1860 and 1870. Lincoln was among the group of lawyers and politicians present, and was deeply affected by the sermon. He is said to have declared, "It was the most impressive sermon I ever heard. I believe it and wonder that God should have given such power to a man. The most wonderful thing to me was that somehow I felt myself strongly involved in it." Later in his life Akers was presented by some

⁴ Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life*, 20.

fellow-ministers with a cane (still in the possession of the Akers family) to commemorate this occasion.

When Milburn was obliged to leave college, Dr. Akers took him along as he rode the district on horseback. Milburn wrote:

When a boy I groomed his horse, blacked his boots, brushed his clothes, and performed all the offices of a body servant for him, and I have never felt more honored than when doing so, or in sitting by the table, and by the hearth and listening with open-eyed wonder and delight to the streams of thought and wisdom flowing from his reverent lips. . . . Blessed be the memory of the grandest preacher of righteousness that in my knowledge has appeared in the Valley of the Mississippi.⁵

Under Akers' tutelage Milburn became an itinerant Methodist preacher. He was admitted on trial as a member of the Illinois Conference on his twentieth birthday and for two years traveled a circuit in which he preached forty sermons at thirty places every twenty-eight days, riding on horseback about two hundred miles, roughing it on "hog and hominy, corn bread and common doins," and proving himself a most effective evangelist. He was married in 1846 to Cornelia L. Wilmot of Baltimore.

In *Ten Years of Preacher-Life* (published in 1859) Milburn gives a vivid glimpse of Illinois Methodism and life on the frontier. The Illinois Annual Conference was in session at Paris in September, 1846:

The bishop [Hamline] presiding was the victim of a heart-disease. Over his head the sword of Damocles hung ever suspended by a hair, the death's head was never absent from his banquet, and the dread of sudden death had discolored all his ideas of life. He was the morbid and sworn foe to everything like gaiety, and while not sour or sullen, yet his piety was weighty and lugubrious. It may well be imagined that such a chairman had trouble to keep in order a man like Peter Cartwright, with whom humor and drollery are as natural as to breathe. Brother Cartwright had the floor one day, and by his irresistible fun, set the Confer-

⁵ *Journal of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1903, p. 104.

ence in a roar. "Stop, Brother Cartwright," said the bishop; "I cannot allow such sin to be committed among Methodist preachers when I have the charge of them. I read in the Bible, be angry and sin not, but I nowhere see, laugh and sin not. Let us bow down and confess our offence. Brother Cartwright, lead in prayer." The backwoods preacher kneeled and repeated the Lord's prayer, and then rising, said, "Look here, Mr. Bishop, when I dig potatoes, I dig potatoes; when I hoe corn, I hoe corn; when I pray, I pray; and when I attend to business, I want to attend to business—I wish you did too, and I don't want you to take such snap judgment on me again."

"Brother," said the bishop, in a monitory tone, "do you think you are growing in grace?" "Yes, Bishop, I think I am—in spots." It is hardly necessary to add that the bishop gave him up as incorrigible. . . .

We reached the edge of the grand prairie, where stood a single cabin, consisting of two rooms. About twenty-five preachers were in our company, and this was the only house at which we could put up. The people received us gladly, notwithstanding the disparity between our numbers and their accommodations, and said they would do their best for us. . . . Gathering around the huge fireplace, . . . our venerable friend, Dr. Akers, occupying the seat of Gamaliel, expounded such knotty points in divinity as were proposed by the juniors. It was a picturesque scene, as the ruddy glare of the pine-knots, shining from the chimney corner, lit up the eager, generous faces of a score of devoted itinerants, to whom hardship and privations were as nothing, and unrewarded toil a pleasure. . . . There was one bedstead in the room, for my wife and myself, she being the only woman of the party, while shuck-mattresses and buffalo skins were laid upon the floor for the men, some of the juniors repairing to the hay-mow, no unusual chamber for a circuit rider. . . .

Our next halting-place was to be on the other side of the grand prairie. We were up at three o'clock, and not a bit too soon, for my wife was hardly out of bed, before a heavy shower poured through the roof, upon the very spot where we had lain.

Our hospitable entertainers furnished an ample breakfast and abundant provision for our lunch, but refused to receive a picayune, saying they would expect their house to be struck by lightning if they took pay for feeding Methodist preachers and their horses.⁶

At the Annual Conference in September, 1845 Milburn was selected to raise money for the prospective new Female

⁶ Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life*, 204-7.

Seminary at Jacksonville and also for McKendree College at Lebanon, Illinois. After spending three weeks in Cincinnati with very little success, he boarded a crowded steamboat to go up the Ohio River to Wheeling. Among the passengers were a number of members of both houses of Congress on their way to Washington. Milburn was shocked to discover that many of them spent most of their time playing cards and drinking, and that their language was rough and profane. Because of fog, on Sunday morning the boat was still eighty miles below Wheeling. A religious service was organized and Milburn was invited to preach. After his sermon, he could not "resist the impulse to speak a straightforward word to the men on my right and left." "As a preacher of the gospel," he told them, "I am commissioned to tell you, that unless you renounce your evil courses, repent of your sins, and believe upon the Lord Jesus Christ with hearts unto righteousness, you will certainly be damned."

Retiring to his stateroom immediately after the service, he wondered what would be the effect of his plain speaking. Soon there came a knock at his door. He opened it, and a gentleman entered and said:

I have been requested to wait upon you by the members of Congress on board. . . . They desire me to present you with this purse of money . . . as a token of their appreciation of your sincerity and fearlessness in reproving them for their misconduct; they have also desired me to ask, if you will allow your name to be used at the coming election of chaplain for Congress. If you will consent to this, they are ready to assure you an honorable election.⁷

Before the boat reached Wheeling, Milburn assented to the proposal and was subsequently elected.

As chaplain of Congress he opened the two houses with prayer each day and preached in the Hall of Representatives on Sunday mornings. For a blind young man of twenty-two that was a tremendous responsibility. In *Ten Years of*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 111-13.

Preacher-Life there are fascinating chapters on social life in Washington and on Congress in the 1840's. His sketches of Calhoun and Webster, still in the Senate, and Clay, who had resigned in 1841 but was re-elected in 1849, are valuable—particularly those of Clay and Calhoun—as contemporary estimates.

After John Quincy Adams and a few other veterans [he wrote] the two members of the House in whom I became most interested were young men who had entered the national service side by side, from distant quarters of the Union two years before,—one from Georgia, the other from Illinois.⁸

These were Alexander H. Stephens, "the most powerful orator in Congress," and Stephen A. Douglas. Of the latter, whom Milburn had known in Illinois, he said:

No man, since the days of Andrew Jackson, has gained a stronger hold upon the confidence and attachments of his adherents, or exercised a more dominating authority over the masses of his party than Judge Douglas. Whether upon the stump, in the caucus, or the Senate, his power and success in debate are prodigious. His instincts stand him in the stead of imagination, and amount to genius.⁹

Through assiduous training Milburn had developed a marvelous memory. He now considered the problem of how to speak effectively to an audience familiar with the eloquence of the nation's greatest statesmen and orators. He felt that "the true power of the speaking man consists in the balanced and serene movement of his intellect, and his near and living connection with his hearers through the eye." Separated from his congregation "by the impassable gulf of darkness," what was he to do?¹⁰ He rejected the idea of memorizing his discourses, being convinced that he would thus mortgage his future and bind himself as the slave of a bad habit. He decided to develop the habit of extempore speech, the "natural

⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

connection between the tongue and the brain, and to gain for the brain itself the healthful and natural play of its faculties when the body was erected upon its legs in the midst of an assembly however large, or upon an occasion however momentous."¹¹

In spite of his blindness he achieved great power as a speaker. "What a magnificent voice he had!" said Dr. G. R. S. McElfresh, a distinguished member of the Illinois Conference, who knew Milburn well. "It was really an instrument of music. While it possessed immense volume it was never harsh, but deep and organ-like. His elocution was well-nigh faultless."¹²

After two years as chaplain, Milburn's health failed again. He was told that he probably had only six months to live. In order to increase his chances he resigned the chaplaincy and moved to the milder climate of Alabama, and for six years held pastorates in Mobile and Montgomery. This was the period of his greatest mental activity and growth. He spent eleven to fifteen hours a day in "intellectual labor." He and his wife read newspapers, reviews, history, travel, poetry, and especially metaphysics. He became familiar with the works of his illustrious contemporaries, Emerson and the other transcendentalists. Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* particularly appealed to him and was one of the strong influences in his life. Later he became an intimate friend of Carlyle, whom he visited many times in London. After the death of their wives the two men, both inveterate smokers, had many a long talk over their cigars.

Later Milburn was very critical of what he became during this period. He lived, he said, in

a world of ethereal abstraction . . . nothing better than a babbling fool, deluded with self-conceit and intoxicated with weak tea, made by steeping the leaves of a so-called oecumenical philosophy in the liquid of a high-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 120-21.

¹² *Jour. Ill. Conf. M.E. Church*, 1903, p. 104.

sounding and oracular vocabulary. . . . Ah! Thomas Carlyle, you have much to answer for, in sending adrift upon the fog banks, such raw and inexperienced boys as I was when your mighty genius found me out. Many a day of miserable doubt, and night of morbid wretchedness have you caused me. Yet for all that, I owe you more and love you better than any author of the time.¹³

While living in Alabama, Milburn was tried for heresy and investigated by the Methodists for "questionable conduct"—attendance at a Mardi Gras in New Orleans. He was exonerated from both charges. He was much in demand as a speaker, averaging seven addresses and sermons each week. But once again he suffered a physical breakdown and returned to Washington in 1853, where he soon recovered. From this time on his health was excellent and he developed remarkable powers of endurance.

He served another term as chaplain of Congress in 1853 and 1854. He then became pastor of the Central Methodist Church, New York. In 1858 he was appointed to the Pacific Church, Brooklyn, and in 1861 to the historic John Street Church, New York, known as the "cradle of Methodism," where he attracted crowds of people to his services. During this period he traveled up to 50,000 miles a year in all parts of the United States and the British Isles, often lecturing six nights a week and returning to his church to preach on Sunday. By 1883 he declared that he had traveled 1,500,000 miles, always alone and without accident.

In 1855 he delivered twelve lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston on "The Early History and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley," and later at the same Institute a lecture on "Recollections of Thomas Carlyle." He lectured on "Marie Antoinette," "Aaron Burr, the Most Romantic Figure in American History," "The Life and Times of John Milton," "John Randolph of Roanoke," "The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-Bags," "Songs in the Night," and his most popular lecture,

¹³ Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life*, 286, 287, 291-92.

"What a Blind Man Saw in Europe." Speaking of his lectures, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* said:

There are, doubtless, some who excel him in buffoonery, which commands the popular applause, but for refined beauty of language, genuine wit, noble thought, and oftentimes a deep pathos, we have not seen his equal.

The *Memphis Avalanche* wrote:

A friend who has heard Webster, Calhoun, Clay and Prentiss in their most celebrated efforts, is so enthusiastic in his admiration of Mr. Milburn, that he says he never heard anything from these illustrious orators superior to the subtile *rationale* of the English character of "Reserve." His panorama of Paris which for an hour and a half was unrolled before you so vividly that you lived and moved in the midst of a gorgeous pageant a long summer day, and laughed or wept at the bidding of a wizard's wand; his most beautiful description of Westminster Abbey. Nothing of the kind was ever more charming than his picture of the American girl; nothing more deeply pathetic than his Marie Antoinette. Carlyle's monologue on dyspepsia, given with wonderful verisimilitude by the lecturer, could hardly be appreciated by any but the readers of *Sartor Resartus*, but they, the select few, enjoyed it with intense gusto.¹⁴

Milburn's first trip to England was made in 1857 in company with Bishop Matthew Simpson, who preached Lincoln's funeral sermon eight years later. Milburn remained six months and preached and lectured with tremendous success. In 1868 he underwent an operation on his eye by the renowned surgeon Von Gräfe in Paris, but the operation was unsuccessful and thenceforth Milburn was totally blind. He made a number of other trips to Europe, several of them in his last years as a member of parties organized by Senator and Mrs. George Hearst of California, parents of William Randolph Hearst, who were among his closest friends.

In 1865 Milburn was persuaded to become a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was convinced that he could be more successful in a settled pastorate with an as-

¹⁴ These newspaper items, without dates, were given to the writer by Miss Lorene Martin, now deceased.

sistant than in the Methodist itinerancy with its frequent compulsory change of churches. He was ordained a deacon in that year and a priest in 1866. In preparation for his duties he committed the entire Book of Common Prayer to memory. His recital of the liturgy was said to have been most beautiful. Throughout his entire ministry his reading of the Scriptures seems to have been the most impressive of all his public utterances. The *London Chronicle* said:

Glib Anglican curates who habitually rattle their daily lessons were hushed to shame as they heard him recite the 55th chapter of Isaiah or the first fifteen verses of the Gospel of St. John; and a friend in this country recalls that when Dr. Milburn conducted family prayers in the home even the servants were drawn to the door, loath to miss one tone of his voice.

In 1878 Milburn applied for readmission to the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church and was received without reordination and with an enthusiasm which made him very happy. He said he had missed the whole-hearted brotherliness of the Methodist ministry. For the rest of his life he was a "supernumerary" preacher—not assigned to any particular pastorate—in the Methodist Church.

During Cleveland's first administration Milburn returned to Washington as chaplain of the House of Representatives, serving continuously there until 1892. In 1893 he was elected chaplain of the Senate and remained in this position until his death in 1903. During his incumbency he made an unforgettable impression upon official Washington. His prayers were much more than formal invocations. When the Venezuelan boundary dispute in 1895 threatened a break between the United States and Great Britain, fiery anti-British speeches were being made in Congress and tension was at its height, Milburn offered a prayer which calmed the war spirit. It was felt by many that the amicable settlement of the matter was largely due to the effect of that remarkable prayer.

Milburn was more popular than ever as a preacher and lecturer. He spent most of his summers in England, supplying

the pulpits of some of the largest and most influential churches in London. Dr. James M. Buckley, for forty years the distinguished editor of *The Christian Advocate*, said in an editorial at the time of Milburn's death:

The last time he visited London, a few years ago, to supply a pulpit he was lionized the whole time he was there. He was kept lecturing nearly every week night and his Sunday congregations were enlarged until the ordinary collections increased from three or four pounds to seventeen pounds per Sunday. . . .

We have heard him preach discourses, in our estimate, rarely surpassed in classic oratory; again we have heard him deliver in the most magniloquent way matter that was not worthy of such an oratorical display; but never did he utter a word unfit for publication, or a sentence that was not grammatically and rhetorically composed. . . .

As a guest he was fascinating. Whether he spoke upon history, travel, or the great men whom he had heard, delivered his critical opinions of the best poets, orators and writers, or exhibited his gifts as a raconteur, it was part of a liberal education to a family to entertain him. . . .

Of late years in religious conversation he was spiritual and inexpressibly touching. He knew at what periods of life his religious fervor declined, and recalled the spiritual visions and gracious "chastenings" which had led him into peace again. . . . Like the Psalmist David, in his old age, he increased in humility and spirituality and was ready for the inevitable.¹⁵

The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-Bags, and Other Lectures was published in London in 1857 and *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* in 1860. In *Ten Years of Preacher-Life* and *The Lance, Cross and Canoe; the Flatboat, Rifle and Plough in the Valley of the Mississippi* he described the problems, hardships, customs, folklore and humorous stories of the so-called backwoods people of the Mississippi Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century, which are nowhere more accurately or interestingly recorded. Milburn's books make good reading even today.

Milburn made only two or three references to Lincoln in his books. He credited Peter Cartwright with many of

¹⁵ *The Christian Advocate*, Apr. 16, 1903.

Lincoln's best stories and idioms: "'I never cross a river till I get to it,' and 'I never swap jack-knives while swimming a horse over a river,' were two sayings of the famous backwoods preacher . . . which, adopted by Abraham Lincoln, have passed into proverbs."¹⁶

In my boyhood [wrote Milburn] I often visited Springfield, where one of my recreations was to "loaf" in front of the store of my old friend, Mr. James Lamb, at the southeast corner of the public square, about one o'clock, when people were on their way from dinner, and where Mr. Lincoln was sure to stop, and a crowd soon gathered to hear his stories. He would tell one or two, and this would call out one and another of his friends, and that never failed to remind him of a fresh one, and thus the fun went on sometimes for hours. . . . In the hot summer afternoons he would take off hat, coat, and waistcoat, and in shirt-sleeves become not only a story-teller but an actor representing the scene and parties he portrayed. The land has never had such a *raconteur* to suit the taste and humor of a western crowd as he; and the discipline he thus acquired did not a little towards giving him that almost unequaled style of speech in the courtroom, on the stump, and with the pen,—a style sure to go to posterity, and live when most of the elaborate and stately declamations of the Senate, rostrum, and bar, are forgotten.¹⁷

It should be kept in mind that Milburn was a Democrat, a member of the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Polk and Peter Cartwright; that he spent the years 1847-1853 in the deep South and was in New York during most of the Civil War. No partisan political opinions are expressed in his writings. When he came to appreciate Lincoln's true greatness (probably not until after the Civil War) he seems to have taken it for granted.

Milburn made the prayer at the formal opening of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and at Queen Victoria's request he made the opening prayer at her Jubilee in 1897. An autographed photograph of the Queen

¹⁶ Milburn, *The Lance, Cross and Canoe; the Flatboat, Rifle and Plough in the Valley of the Mississippi* (New York and St. Louis, 1892), 669.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 678.

is a prized possession of the Milburn descendants in Jacksonville.

In 1901 Milburn was injured while attempting to enter a streetcar after leaving the Capitol. His resignation as chaplain was not accepted, though he was unable to continue actively on duty. Mrs. Hearst installed him in a spacious home in Santa Barbara, California, where he passed away April 10, 1903, a few months before his eightieth birthday. His wife and their six children had all preceded him in death. His adopted daughters, Louisa and Alberta Gemley, whose father was a preacher friend of Milburn's, were with him at the last. He is buried in Diamond Grove Cemetery, Jacksonville, Illinois, next to his parents and within a short distance of the road over which he and his family entered Jacksonville sixty-five years before.

COPPERHEAD SECRET SOCIETIES

IN ILLINOIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

BY FRANK L. KLEMENT

ILLINOIS contributed more than her share of men and money to the winning of the Civil War. She also had many critics of President Lincoln's war policy and thousands in the rank and file of the Copperhead movement. In addition, she contributed generously to the building of the legend that treason and secret societies stalked the land. War psychosis and the emotions attending civil conflict proved to be fertile ground for rumor, and Republican strategists encouraged it with vague charges and grave accusations; party aides and editors fabricated exposés, circulated them in the party press, and tied the tail of treason to the Democratic donkey.¹

The man who devised the Knights of the Golden Circle—around which most of the secret-society scares revolved—never touched foot on Illinois soil. That whimsical wanderer, George Washington Lamb Bickley, drifted to Cincinnati in

¹ The traditional view of the secret societies is given in Bethania Meradith Smith, "Civil War Subversives," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLV (Autumn, 1953), 220-40; Jasper Cross, "Divided Loyalties in Southern Illinois during the Civil War" (Ph.D. thesis, typewritten, University of Illinois, 1942); Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIV (Sept., 1918), 183-286; Elbert J. Benton, *The Movement for Peace Without Victory During the Civil War* (Western Reserve Historical Society Collections, Cleveland, 1918); Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942); and George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York, 1942).

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the early 1850's. Bombastic and arrogant, he made few friends in the "Queen City," yet a facile pen and a glib tongue won him assignments as lawyer, lecturer, writer and doctor. He married a widow and turned to daydreaming while mismanaging her Scioto County farm. One of his daydreams was the "Continental Union"—a sort of successor to the dying Know-Nothing movement. Failing to sell that strange bill of goods, he revised the ritual and the name. Thus the Knights of the Golden Circle were brought into being by Bickley's pen. Appropriating the title of "General," the Ohio charlatan sought to pyramid a fortune upon \$10 membership fees. When he could no longer delude his wife and elude his creditors, he fled from Ohio and tailored the Golden Circle to suit the Southern temper. After the failure of a scheme to colonize and annex Mexico, he tried to transform his paper society into one to promote secession and military preparation. But the Circle continued to exist more in fancy than in fact.²

Rumors that the Knights planned to capture Washington were discredited by a special congressional committee—"the evidence produced does not prove the existence of a secret society here or elsewhere"—but jittery Washingtonians still had fears. The Kentucky legislature also gave Bickley's society free publicity. Two pamphlets—the first allegedly by a former "Governor General" of the order in Tennessee and the second the work of an Indiana doctor, written to bring profits to writers and printers—helped build the K.G.C. legend and to give Bickley the notoriety he sought.³

² The Bickley Papers are in the War Department Records, National Archives. See also Ollinger Crenshaw, "The Knights of the Golden Circle: the Career of George Bickley," *American Historical Review*, XLVII (Oct., 1941), 23-50; the Dr. A. A. Urban exposé in the *Louisville Journal*; Bickley's explanations in *The Crisis* [Columbus, Ohio], Dec. 30, 1863; *Cincinnati Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1863; and the Bickley letters in the Nicolay-Hay MSS (Illinois State Historical Library).

³ *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., House Report No. 79, p. 5; Kentucky, *House Journal*, 1861, 137-40, *Senate Journal*, 1861, 146; J. W. Pomfrey, *A True Disclosure and Exposition of the Knights of the Golden Circle, Including the Secret Signs, Grips, and Charges of the Three Degrees as Practiced by the Order* (Cincinnati, 1861); [Dr. J. M. Hiatt], *An Authentic Exposition of the 'KGC' Knights of the Golden Circle: A History of Secession from 1834 to 1861 by a Member of the Order* (Indianapolis, 1861).

The Knights were accused of participation in the Kentucky elections of June, 1861; Republicans devised "exposés" on the eve of the October elections in Ohio; and reports of a "treasonable league" in Detroit and the Midwest reached the floor of the United States Senate.⁴ The Michigan rumors, based on a hoax letter, were proved false and the Ohio charges as only campaign propaganda, but rumors continued to circulate and provide the foundation for even more fantastic tales.⁵

An anonymous letter, signed "A member of the N.G.C.," reached Senator Orville H. Browning. The "N.G.C." were blamed for the defeat at Bull Run, the revocation of Frémont's emancipation proclamation and the Union failures in Missouri. The "N.G.C. placed McLelland [*sic*] at the head of our army," added the anonymous scribbler, "as they knew he would favor slavery, and would not advance until they got ready."⁶ Reports that bridges and trestles of the Illinois Central Railroad were marked for destruction and stories growing out of the arrest of Confederate agents in Cairo, Chicago and St. Louis added to the uneasiness which prevailed.⁷

In the early months of 1862 the Illinois Constitutional Convention set to work to halve Governor Richard Yates' term of office, to deprive him of military patronage, to investigate every aspect of the state government and to experiment with gerrymandering. Joseph King Cummins Forrest, Springfield correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, led the Republican attack on the convention with a bizarre report:

⁴ *Louisville Journal*, June 6, 1861 (clipping, Bickley Papers); *Ohio State Journal* [Columbus], Oct. 8, 1861; *History of Marion County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1883), 448-49; *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 1371; *Detroit Tribune*, quoted in *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 21, 1861.

⁵ Guy S. Hopkins to William H. Seward, Nov. 29, 1861, Hopkins Papers (Natl. Archives); *Ohio Statesman* [Columbus], Oct. 8, 12, 15, 16, 19, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, Oct. 10, 15, 16, 18, 1861. The hoax letter was printed in the *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Apr. 9, 1862.

⁶ Anonymous letter in Browning Papers (Ill. State Hist. Lib.).

⁷ Parker Earle and Charles Colby to Gov. Richard Yates, Apr. 21, 1862, Yates Papers (Ill. State Hist. Lib.); James Gage to Yates, Apr. 23, 1862, *ibid.*; "Arrests for Disloyalty" (MSS, State Dept. Files, Natl. Archives), 29, 33-34, 207, 218-19, 275.

It has been rumored for some days, that there were many Knights of the Golden Circle and members of mutual protection societies in the convention. I have forbore to allude to them before, but they come so thick upon me, that I can do so no longer. The number of K.G.C.'s has been placed so high, as to come within a few votes of a majority of the convention.

The *Tribune* added editorially: "There are men in that convention who would not hesitate to involve our people in anarchy—who wait only the favorable moment to seize the military power of the state, and to turn the arms of Illinois upon the flag of our common country."⁸

Anthony Thornton, Democratic delegate from Shelby County, read Forrest's report and the *Tribune* editorial to the convention, and warned that failure to refute the charges would be viewed as an admission of guilt. He demanded a prompt investigation and proposed that a special committee be named to look into the charges. William A. Hacker, chairman of the convention, said: "I think there is nobody at Chicago, or any place else, who believes there is a single Knight of the Golden Circle anywhere in this state. I am satisfied, sir, that there is not a single lodge of that order, or whatever you call it, in the district which I represent upon this floor, and I don't believe there is any such organization in Illinois." William J. Allen, later one of the state's best-known Copperheads, endorsed an investigation but believed it would prove fruitless. "I know of no such organization myself," he stated, "nor do I believe that any member here belongs to such an organization." He added that the treason charges which had been directed his way originated with "a short officer at Cairo." Orlando B. Ficklin, another prominent Democrat, wanted the majority of the members of the special investigating committee to be Republicans so that whitewash charges could never be made in future days.⁹

⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1862.

⁹ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, Convened at Springfield on January 7, 1862* (Springfield, 1862), 410-11; "Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention," *Ill. State Reg.*, Feb. 13, 1862.

Republican delegates also registered their disbelief of the K.G.C. rumors and charges. Wellington Weigley had never before heard of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Illinois—he “would just as soon believe that there were members of Beauregard’s staff” in the state. Elliott Anthony favored ignoring the charges, for convention action would only add dignity to rumor and esteem to slander. “Long” John Wentworth, with a reputation for boldness and independence, deplored efforts to give the impression that the only business transacted by the convention was initiating Knights into the Golden Circle.¹⁰

The convention’s special committee, including three Republican members, examined the charges. Forrest admitted that he had no tangible proof of his weird allegations, that he had compounded his story out of vague rumors, sweeping misunderstandings and unfounded accusations which had reached the Governor’s desk. United States Marshal David L. Phillips of the Southern District of Illinois, who had encouraged the charges, admitted under oath that he had no evidence as to the disloyalty of any delegates to the convention. The committee’s report of March 19, 1862 stated that all rumors regarding the Knights of the Golden Circle were without foundation, that all convention members under suspicion were exonerated, and that Forrest merited censure for circulating fables and giving dignity to gossip.¹¹

If Illinois Democrats expected this report to quash all K.G.C. rumors, they were woefully mistaken. Even while the report was being drafted an agent of the State Department toured Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Williamson counties and wrote a twelve-page report on “disloyalty” to his superiors. One suspect had initiated the agent into the “Golden Circle,” another was secretary of a local lodge and a third the “self-proclaimed head of the K.G.C.” in Illi-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Journal of the . . . Convention*, 942-43.

nois, wrote Secretary Seward's emissary. Admitting a lack of tangible proof to link some of Lincoln's most outspoken critics to the secret society, he felt that the prevalency of rumors and the boldness of the "suspects" seemed to justify such beliefs.¹² Yates saw this report before it was forwarded to Washington.

J. F. Cochran of Jackson County wrote Yates that some of his neighbors belonged to "the Golden Circle Organization." Thomas Yardley and T. R. Bates reported that a "ministre of the gospel," suspected of disloyalty, had "formed a lodge which they give the name of the golden circle." Mrs. Kate Anderson wrote that the secessionists of Rome (Jefferson County) had "organized all the Knights of the Golden Circle into companies." John H. Brown and S. M. Thrift advocated the expulsion of Joshua C. Allen from Congress, suggesting that perhaps he belonged to the K.G.C. Grant Goodrich attributed the Democratic clean sweep of Chicago offices in April, 1862 to the "insidious influence" of the K.G.C.¹³

The battle over ratification of the new constitution was waged along party lines. The *Tribune* labeled the document a "secession swindle"—the product of "mousing politicians, many of them Knights of the Golden Circle."¹⁴ Other papers made equally ridiculous and fantastic charges. The defeat of the "Copperhead" constitution was celebrated with parties and parades. "Illinois Saved from the Grasp of Traitors," proclaimed the *Tribune*; the "cloven hoof of the K.G.C." had brought a patriotic reaction. Every lodge of the Golden Circle from Chicago to Cairo was said to have circulated pamphlets in behalf of ratification. The *Illinois Gazette*

¹² Report of Albert P. Davis (n.d.), with David L. Phillips to Frederick W. Seward, Feb. 23, 1862, Dr. John P. Clemenson Papers (State Dept. Files, Natl. Archives).

¹³ Cochran to Yates, Apr. 24, 1862, Yates Papers; Yardley and Bates to Yates, Mar. 20, 1862, *ibid.*; Mrs. Anderson to Yates, May 3, 1862, *ibid.*; Brown and Thrift to Lyman Trumbull, May 26, 1862, Trumbull Papers (microfilm copy, Ill. State Hist. Lib.); Goodrich to Elihu B. Washburne, May 29, 1862, Washburne Papers (Library of Congress).

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, June 5, 7, 14, 16, 1862.

of Lacon thanked the voters for defeating both the Knights and the "Copperhead" constitution—insisting that the convention proceedings "pointed with unerring certainty to the presence of the K.G.C."¹⁵

Similar rumors rolled in from neighboring states. A pamphlet published by Union League leaders of Kentucky warned that the K.G.C. was active and treasonable and that the *Chicago Times* was an "auxiliary organ" of the serpentine society. The *Tribunes* of both New York and Chicago depicted Dubuque, Iowa as a sinkhole of treason and credited it with harboring a nest of Knights.¹⁶ The efforts of Governor Oliver P. Morton to develop a K.G.C. scare in Indiana were assisted by a judge's letter and a grand jury report more political than judicial.¹⁷

A series of arbitrary arrests in southern Illinois by overzealous Marshal Phillips inflamed the public mind so that Phillips needed to revive K.G.C. fears for "justification." That same straw man might help to counteract the rising Democratic tide of 1862 and aid recruiting for the Union League. Four affidavits—each signed with an "X"—were used to justify the arrests and to buttress Phillips' K.G.C. claims. James Hamilton, a deserter trying to escape court-martial, claimed that he had attended two meetings of the Golden Circle—one a meeting of "Lodge No. 459" in an uncultivated cornfield, and the other an open meeting in Williamson County—actually a Democratic rally and barbecue. George Meyers also claimed to have attended two meetings of Knights—one being the same Williamson County barbecue where William J. Allen and Judge Andrew D. Duff spiced their criticism of Lincoln with bitter sauce. Joseph T. Williams called a Dem-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 21, July 11, 1862; *Illinois Gazette* [Lacon], June 25, 1862.

¹⁶ *Dubuque Times*, Apr. 9, 17 (3-column resumé), May 8, 1862; *Dubuque Herald*, Apr. 10, 1862.

¹⁷ *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Aug. 21, 1862; Grand Jury Report, May Term, U.S. District Court, District of Indiana: *Indianapolis Journal*, June 18, 19, Aug. 4, 1862; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 4, 14, 24, 1862.

ocratic Party caucus a K.G.C. session. Drenascus Hall swore that he had joined the Knights, and added a hatful of contradictory statements.¹⁸ These affidavits failed to prove Phillips' contention that all whom he had arrested were "leading and influential members of the Knights of the Golden Circle";¹⁹ respectable Republicans testified to "treasonable" remarks by Allen and other Copperhead speakers, but would not uphold the K.G.C. accusations.

The *Chicago Tribune's* four-column article of August 26, 1862 added to these affidavits extracts from letters which had come to Governor Yates' desk. An anonymous informer reported that the "nights of the Golden Sircul" drilled every moonlight night; "somting must be dun," for "every bunch is giting his orders for his portion of the work to do." T. C. Estes had heard that the Knights intended "to rebel" when they got "more forse." D. D. C. Porter added that the Democratic Party stalked the land like "Calhoun's Ghost" in the shape of the K.G.C., or conditional Union men. T. P. Robb reported from Cairo that he had fallen in with "a 'Golden Circle' agent." Such letter writers reported what they had heard rather than what they had seen; usually the rumors concerned neighboring communities rather than their own; atrocious grammar and misspellings often revealed the credulity and ignorance of the authors.²⁰

Forrest, not discomfited by the failure of his earlier K.G.C. charges against the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, was responsible also for this effusion. In fact he was the central figure in every "exposé" in Illinois during the entire Civil War. Born in Cork, Ireland, he had come to Chicago in 1840 and had won recognition in newspaper work,

¹⁸ Affidavits, Aug. 11, 1862, in Lafayette C. Baker-Levi C. Turner Papers (MSS, Adjutant General's Records, War Dept. Files, Natl. Archives). The author hereby expresses his appreciation to the War Department for permission to use these papers, previously closed to research.

¹⁹ Phillips to Edwin M. Stanton, Sept. 4, 1862, *ibid.*

²⁰ Anonymous letter to "Dear Sir," Aug. 18, 1862; Yates Papers; Estes to Yates, Sept. 7, 1862, *ibid.*; Porter to Yates, July 12, 1862, *ibid.*; Robb to Yates, Aug. 12, 1862, *ibid.*

first as a writer for the *Evening Journal*, then on the staff of the *Gem of the Prairie*. He was one of the founders of the *Tribune* and later managing editor of the *Chicago Democrat*. He read law in the office of J. Young Scammon, and followed Scammon into Swedenborgianism and the Republican Party. Irish Democrats detested Forrest's change of both religion and politics. Yates appointed him state agent in the early months of the war. Later as Springfield correspondent of the *Tribune* and the *Missouri Democrat* of St. Louis he became a confidant of the Governor and had access to the rumors and reports which reached Yates' desk. Begging for another slice of patronage pie, he pointed out that he could use the columns "of a leading journal in the State" to aid the Governor's cause.²¹ After the *Tribune* exposé of August, 1862 Yates named Forrest an aide on his staff, which gave the affable Irishman an opportunity to continue turning a searching spotlight on the Golden Circle.

Some of the Illinois newspapers which reprinted Forrest's exposé out-Heroded Herod. The *Carbondale Times*, for example, claimed that 30,000 Knights could be found in southern Illinois.²² The *New York Evening Post* added: "It is thought in Washington and Springfield that there are in Illinois not less than seven hundred treasonable societies based upon some modification of the plan upon which the Knights of the Golden Circle build."²³

Democrats did not let Forrest's allegations go unchallenged. Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], criticized those who sowed slanders for political effect and debunked the "political hokum" intended "to affect the elections in November" and to tie the tag of treason to Democratic coattails. James C. Allen criticized the K.G.C. smears and the "most damnable" arbitrary ar-

²¹ Forrest to Yates, July 30, 1862, *ibid.*

²² Quoted in *Ill. State Jour.*, Sept. 10, 1862.

²³ Quoted in *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 30, 1862.

rests. Samuel S. Marshall, linked by Forrest to the Knights, wrote in an open letter: "I have never at any time belonged to any secret organization, and I have all my life opposed all secret organizations, believing them to be fundamentally and radically wrong in a republican government." "Hundreds of contacts" and a knowledge of things going on moved Elder J. Hartley of Wayne County to warn Yates to discredit all the charges; "all such tales had come from the father of lies and [were] told by some visionary, fanatical fool." Colonel William R. Morrison, wounded at Fort Donelson, found it necessary to make an angry denial of K.G.C. "implications," believing "explanations" unnecessary in view of his war and public record.²⁴

All those arrested by Phillips also denied links with subversive secret societies. Judge Duff asked for an opportunity to prove the affidavits and evidence an "unmitigated falsehood," even offering to pay the expenses of "the falsifier" to Cairo so that accuser and accused would stand face to face. Duff vehemently denied that he had ever "joined or ever belonged to the organization of the K.G.C.'s under that or any name whatever."²⁵ William J. Allen from his sickbed denied all secret society affiliations, calling all the *ex parte* affidavits implicating him "false in every particular." Israel Blanchard wrote: "I don't belong to a society called Knights of the Golden Circle, but to one called Democratic Association (secret). I took no oath of any kind—the object of the secret association was to beat the Republicans." Evidently Phillips' statement that Blanchard had "freely admitted" K.G.C. membership was deception of the Governor and a deliberate lie. The other Democrats arrested in the same roundup also objected to the K.G.C. brand. Prominent down-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 30, Sept. 13, 1862; *Ill. State Jour.*, Sept. 12, 1862; Hartley to Yates, Aug. 30, 1862, Yates Papers; Morrison to "Dear Sir," Aug. 15, 1862 (copy), Morrison Papers (Ill. State Hist. Lib.).

²⁵ Statement in Dennis A. Mahony, *The Prisoner of State* (New York, 1863), 359-62, and in John A. Marshall, *American Bastille* (Philadelphia, 1878), 298.

state Republicans acquainted with those arrested offered to testify that the *Tribune's* affidavits were "wilful, wicked lies."²⁶

An anonymous letter to Yates accused the Knights of planning to fasten "clasps" upon railroad tracks south of "Vandalia" and kill all Union men and seize their property. This enabled Forrest to offer a K.G.C. railroad conspiracy as proof that his earlier exposés were founded on fact. Some weeks later the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield added another series of charges.²⁷ This technique of making new charges faster than the old ones could be denied was intended to frighten timid voters out of the Democratic ranks, taint the opposition party with treason, and justify the arbitrary arrests which had raised a storm of protest. Lanphier ridiculed Republicans for their "awful disclosure," claimed that Yates' supporters had worn the "golden circle plot" threadbare, insisted that "abolitionists" who fattened on "war contracts" were the real "golden circle members," and advised Republican "liars" to "invent something fresh."²⁸

Charges and countercharges about non-existent Knights failed to check Democratic gains in the November, 1862 elections. The Copperhead stories were counteracted by widespread economic discontent, military failures, extensive opposition to arbitrary arrests and the policy of emancipation.²⁹ William J. Allen and William R. Morrison, accused of being

²⁶ Allen to George B. McClellan, Sept. 6, 1862, Baker-Turner Papers; Blanchard's statement (n.d.) with Phillips' report of Sept. 4, 1862, *ibid.*; Phillips to Yates, Sept. 8, 1862 (copy), John A. Logan Papers (Lib. of Cong.); Amos Green to Levi C. Turner, Sept. 16, 1862, Baker-Turner Papers; statement by Frank A. O'Dell and J. W. Mehaffey (n.d.), *ibid.*; Benajah G. Roots to William A. Harris, Sept. 10, 1862, in Marshall, *America Bastille*, 302.

²⁷ Anonymous letter to "Dear Sir," Aug. 18, 1862, Yates Papers; William H. Osborn to Stanton, Aug. 6, 1862, President's Letter-Book, Ill. Central R.R. Co. Papers (Newberry Library); *Ill. State Jour.*, Aug. 30, Oct. 9, 1862.

²⁸ *Ill. State Reg.*, Oct. 9, 1862.

²⁹ Interpretations of the 1862 election trends are given in Harry E. Pratt, "The Repudiation of Lincoln's War Policy in 1862—Stuart-Swett Congressional Campaign," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXIV (Apr., 1931), 129-40; Winifred A. Harbison, "The Elections of 1862 as a Vote of Want of Confidence in President Lincoln," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, XIV (1938), 42-64; Frank L. Klement, "Economic Aspects of Midwestern Copperheadism," *The Historian*, XIV (Autumn, 1951), 27-44.

Knights of the Golden Circle, were elected to Congress. Other victims of the same charges gained seats in the legislature. To Democrats, the election results seemed to be a repudiation of K.G.C. charges and vicious campaign practices.³⁰ Most of the arrested Illinoisans were released soon after the election, without trial and without any formal charges having been filed against them.³¹

When the Illinois legislature, now under Democratic control, convened in January, 1863 its members favored a national peace convention and introduced bills to strip Yates of his military powers and to conduct investigations for political propaganda. Forrest, now the Governor's private secretary, thereupon revived "treason charges" and K.G.C. accusations. Predicting "revolutionary action" by the legislature, he hinted that Knights were at work in the capitol.³²

Fearful of being called to testify if he made blunt K.G.C. charges, Forrest hid his accusations behind subtlety and indirection. "Your correspondent might call every democrat in the house a Knight of the Golden Circle," he reported to the *Missouri Democrat*, "and they would only laugh at him. Good joke."³³ When the 109th Illinois Regiment was disbanded for mutinous conduct, Forrest claimed that the regiment was a "circle" of the K.G.C. Letters compounded of gossip and vagaries which panicky citizens wrote to Yates gave Forrest "evidence" of Copperhead activity. One perturbed partisan had "reason to believe that over three hundred secret lodges of traitors" were active in Illinois, and he thought the hand of the K.G.C. was responsible for Judge Charles H. Constable's decision, which palsied the arm of military dictatorship. Andrew Miller suspected that "Dimmy-

³⁰ *Ill. State Reg.*, Nov. 12, 1862.

³¹ Affidavit signed by Amos Green *et al.*, Nov. 11, 1862, Baker-Turner Papers. Before being released, all were expected to take oaths of allegiance and sign statements denying membership in the Golden Circle or other treasonable secret societies.

³² *Ill. State Reg.*, Jan. 7, 8, 1863.

³³ *Missouri Democrat* [St. Louis], Jan. 7, 1863. The *Democrat* was one of the most rabid Republican papers of the Midwest.

crats" were planning a "wicket rebellion," for so many "peple" were "gitting" their guns repaired. Andrew J. Ervin asked for "othority" and weapons to "clean out" Copperheads who he feared would "Likly Rase the Battle Snake flag."³⁴ Forrest failed to inform his readers that the letter writers generally lacked respectability and that the rumors were not substantiated.

As the legislature continued its partisan practices, Forrest circulated reports that "a delegation of peacemakers," sent by the Illinois council of the K.G.C., had started for Richmond; that a "Grand Castle" of the Knights had been established in Washington, and that the society's program included the "abdication" of Lincoln and the establishment of a Northwest Confederacy.³⁵ Further "evidence" was a twenty-five-cent pamphlet exposé published in Indiana and calculated to "stir the blood and arouse the temper of every loyal man."³⁶ The *State Journal* charged that the *Register* was an organ of the K.G.C. and that the "Springfield lodge" had burned its records "a few nights since."³⁷

Lanphier led the Democrats' rebuttal, reminding his readers that the author of these treason tales was "the same man who invented the awful disclosures of last winter [February, 1862] and who backed clean out of them, and acknowledged himself the poorest of inventors." Lanphier labeled Forrest a "foul-mouthed calumniator," "a born toady" and "a chronic devotee-of-power." Yates' failure to arrest and try any K.G.C. members gave "the lie" to Forrest's accusations, or else the Governor was sheltering traitors. Forrest was therefore a self-convicted fabricator—"a deliberate, studied and infamous

³⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1863; Uri Manly to Yates, Mar. 7, 1863, Yates Papers; Henry B. Carrington to Yates, Mar. 10, 1863, *ibid.*; Miller to Yates, Jan. 21, 1863, *ibid.*; Ervin to Yates, Feb. 7, 1863, *ibid.*

³⁵ *Chicago Journal*, May 15, 1863. Forrest also relayed his story to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Missouri Democrat*.

³⁶ This item, published by Asher & Co. of Indianapolis, was circulated to encourage the organization of Union League Clubs. See "Private Instructions to Presidents of Subordinate Clubs" (1863), Henry K. English MSS (Archives Division, Ind. State Lib.).

³⁷ *Ill. State Jour.*, Mar. 31, 1863.

LIAR." "The indefatigable Joe Forrest," wrote the aroused editor, "has discovered another mare's nest. He has made the study of the habits and customs of the K.G.C. his specialty, and is as *au fait* with the genuine specimen as Agassiz with antediluvian birds and fishes."³⁸

Meanwhile the Republican high command solicited letters from soldiers and circulated their "patriotic" views as the true ones, generated patriotism through emotional oratory and mass meetings, and extended the organization of the Union League as a militant arm of the Republican Party. Soldiers on furlough frequently left the bars in saloons to sack Democratic newspaper offices, to insult suspected Copperheads and force critics of the Lincoln administration to take loyalty oaths, and to interrupt or break up meetings of Democrats. General Burnside's arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham in Ohio, his suppression of the *Chicago Times*, the high-handed seizure of Judge Constable by Colonel Henry B. Carrington, military aide to Governor Morton of Indiana, Yates' prorogation of the "Copperhead" legislature, the furnishing of state arms to Union Leaguers and a wave of attacks on some of the more prominent of Lincoln's critics alarmed Democratic chieftains. The summary treatment accorded Vallandigham, the destruction of Democratic newspaper presses and the arming of militia companies sponsored by Union Leagues seemed to be a threat to cherished civil liberties. The apparent success of the Union League program prompted some Democratic leaders to sponsor a rival "patriotic" and secret league—one that would keep elections open and free, protect Democrats' property and civil and political rights, and counteract the influence of the aggressive Union League. Most prominent Illinois Democrats had gone on record as opposing secret societies of all kinds. Wilbur F. Storey, outspoken editor of the *Chicago Times*, insisted that Democratic principles and programs be promoted publicly. Although felled by an un-

³⁸ *Ill. State Reg.*, Jan. 10, May 14, 16, 22, Sept. 9, 1863.

known "patriotic" assailant, his newspaper temporarily suppressed and the doors of social recognition barred to him, the Chicago curmudgeon refused to sanction any Democratic-sponsored secret society. The *State Register* also asked its readers to avoid organizing or joining secret societies. "True democracy," stated Lanphier in an editorial, "works in the light of open day." The legislature "*Resolved*, That secret political organizations, under whatever pretence established, are uncalled for and dangerous to constitutional liberty."³⁹

Nevertheless, some Democrats wanted to fight fire with fire. During the Democratic convention in Springfield on June 17, 1863, they established a skeleton organization of the Sons of Liberty. This order, evolved in Indiana, was expected to serve the same function for the Democrats which the Union League served for the Republicans. S. Corning Judd, a reputable and respected Democrat of Fulton County who had run for presidential elector in 1860, campaigned actively for ratification of the Constitution of 1862, and was chairman of the Fulton County Democratic Central Committee, agreed to head the Illinois Council. Always resolute and outspoken, he repeatedly advised Democrats to "know [their] rights and knowing dare maintain." Calling Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* "wicked, unconstitutional, and damnable," he believed that a military despotism was enveloping the country and that to remain silent when rights were being trampled upon was both cowardly and criminal. The "Grand Commander" believed that the Sons of Liberty could serve a number of worthy purposes—help guarantee civil rights, serve as a mutual protection society, and aid in the reelection of Democrats. If the administration knew that Democrats would fight for their rights, reasoned Judd and his cohorts, there would be no effort to interfere in the elections, stifle freedom of speech, arrest men arbitrarily, nor suppress

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, June 4, 1863; *Chicago Times*, Mar. 4, 1863. The Constable-Carrington affair is discussed in Charles H. Coleman and Paul H. Spence, "The Charleston Riot, March 28, 1864," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII (Mar., 1940), 7-36.

opposition newspapers. Judd persistently insisted that the Sons of Liberty were entirely unrelated to the Knights of the Golden Circle organized by Bickley.⁴⁰

Forrest's return to Illinois in August after an extended absence ended the state's respite from K.G.C. "revelations." Editor W. F. Wells of Unionville, Missouri, pleaded for Yates' assistance in circulating some Missouri-based "revelations," and Forrest was instructed to furnish a mailing list. He also furnished the story to the *Tribune* and the *Missouri Democrat*.⁴¹ A couple of weeks later Forrest's "report" on K.G.C. activities in Illinois stated that the Grand Castle of the Knights of the Golden Circle had held a meeting in Chicago, and claimed that seventy-one castles existed in Illinois. The Knights were also blamed for the adoption of a "peace" resolution at a Chicago Democratic rally and for the "Fulton County War,"⁴² and charged with planning to massacre the Union Leaguers, on the order of the St. Bartholomew massacre in France. As "proof" Forrest quoted portions of letters which cranks had addressed to Yates, with generous supplements from his own fertile imagination. Forrest also restated his claim that Quantrill, the notorious Missouri bushwhacker, had attended the Illinois state Democratic convention.⁴³

The arrest of George W. L. Bickley with a parcel of K.G.C. material in Indiana seemed to add substance to the eerie fables originating in Springfield. Bickley, of course, claimed to be "as ignorant as a man in China" of the "Bogus Political organization" supposedly existent in the Midwest, but his arrest furnished fuel to Forrest and those of his ilk.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ S. Corning Judd to Lincoln, Mar. 3, 1865, Nicolay-Hay MSS (Notes, Chap. I, Vol. VIII, Ill. State Hist. Lib.); *Fulton County Ledger* [Canton], Oct. 6, 1863.

⁴¹ Wells to Yates, Aug. 2, 1863, and Yates' endorsement, Yates Papers; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1863; *Mo. Democrat*, Aug. 8, 1863, cited in *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 16, 1863.

⁴² The "Fulton County War" was an incident involving an arrogant enrolling officer and the resistance of men to the draft.

⁴³ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 16, 1863; *Ill. State Jour.*, Aug. 20, Sept. 8, 1863; *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 23, 1863.

⁴⁴ "Statement of Facts," Aug. 8, 1863, Bickley Papers; Bickley to Seward, Aug. 14, 1863, Baker-Turner Papers.

Lanphier and other Democratic editors tried to deny Forrest's charges as fast as he made them—a hopeless task because the “lying accounts” came as “thick as the leaves of Vallambrosa.” Since no other man in the entire Northwest possessed Forrest's ability “to invent misrepresentations of the sort,” Lanphier suggested a plan to free Illinois from K.G.C. scares—he would double the salaries of Governor Yates and his aide and ask them to stay out of the state until the Governor's term expired.⁴⁵

In 1863 the tide of the Civil War turned. Gettysburg and Vicksburg kindled a new hope. The populace accepted the Emancipation Proclamation as a worthy principle, and expressed their faith in the man in the White House. War prosperity dissipated the economic discontent so widespread in 1862. The Union Leagues aided the Republican Party in marshalling support for the administration. Consequently, the Republicans triumphed in the fall elections of 1863. In Ohio Vallandigham and his followers suffered a stunning defeat. Some downstate Illinois districts reversed a long-time trend and elected Republicans. The K.G.C. straw man could be relegated to a political closet.

An absence of secret-society accusations in early 1864 came with Forrest's departure for Washington to accept a federal appointment.⁴⁶ Isolated editors occasionally advanced some new K.G.C. angle: the *Paris Times* blamed the “Mattoon incident,” in which furloughed soldiers practiced intimidation and “Copperheads” retaliated, on a subversive secret society,⁴⁷ and the *Quincy Whig* spread word that Quantrill planned a raid on Quincy to help his K.G.C. “brothers” of Illinois carry out their “bloody program.”⁴⁸ Even the “Charleston riot” was viewed by one editor as the “predetermined and prepared

⁴⁵ *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 5, 15, 16, 1863.

⁴⁶ Forrest to Yates, July 8, 1864, Yates Papers.

⁴⁷ Quoted in *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Feb. 9, 1864.

⁴⁸ Quoted in *Ill. State Reg.*, May 8, 1864.

attack of a band of K.G.C.'s of Illinois, upon an unarmed regiment of the State."⁴⁹

Meanwhile Colonel John P. Sanderson, Provost Marshal General for the Department of the Missouri, thrice disgraced by Secretary Stanton and anxious for promotion, selected a secret-society exposé as a means of sidetracking charges of maladministration, clearing his name and gaining the fame which had escaped him on the battlefield. He came across a copy of a printed *Address* by Phineas C. Wright—the bill of rights and a call to duty for members of the Order of American Knights, which Wright had dreamed up in New Orleans in 1856-1857, and which, like Bickley's original K.G.C., had as one of its objectives a Latin American colonization scheme. After moving to St. Louis, Wright tried to resurrect his milked organization—to which he had given a strong states' rights twist.⁵⁰ Judd and respectable Democrats had nothing but contempt for this mythical society.⁵¹ Wright claimed that the O.A.K. was intended to further the states' rights cause, counteract moves toward "despotism," and provide fraternal opportunities and mutual protection for Democrats. He feared that free speech and free elections would be suppressed in the upper Midwest as they had been in Kentucky. Colonel Sanderson thought he saw a relation between this *Address* and reports of the existence of a boat-burning conspiracy, the smuggling of contraband goods, the activities of Missouri bushwhackers, and rumors that subversive secret societies wished to establish a Northwestern Confederacy. When a prisoner, arrested for smuggling and activity in behalf of the Confederacy, devised an O.A.K. story to secure his

⁴⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Apr. 1, 1864; Coleman and Spence, "The Charleston Riot," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII (Mar., 1940), 7-56.

⁵⁰ James O. Broadhead to Edward Bates, July 24, 1864 (copy), Robert Todd Lincoln Papers (Lib. of Cong.); Sanderson, "Journal" (MS, Mar. 18, 25, 1864, Sanderson Collection, Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc. Lib.); William S. Rosecrans to James A. Garfield, Mar. 22, 1864, Garfield Papers (Lib. of Cong.); "P. Casius Urbanus" [Phineas C. Wright], *Occasional Address of Supreme Commander, American Association*, Dec. 8, 1863, Sanderson Collection.

⁵¹ Testimony of Judd before Military Commission, Cincinnati, Mar. 31, 1865, in *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 2, 1865.

release, Sanderson launched a full-scale investigation of the work of the order, deputizing agents to scour the countryside for information.⁵²

Four different Sanderson agents visited Illinois to seek the needles in the haystacks. William Jones, visiting Jacksonville, Springfield and Chicago, "heard" that the Democratic mayor of Springfield and the Democratic sheriff of Sangamon County belonged to a secret order. He added that he had "found a lodge in operation" in Chicago and that it was "understood that Richard Merrick belonged to the order, but was absent from it on business for the Order in Europe." On his return to St. Louis Jones wrote, "During my trip I learned that the organization of the O.A.K. extended all over Illinois. They claim to have 80,000 members who are armed." William Taylor visited Springfield and Quincy, reporting two temples of the O.A.K. in the latter city and that all the Illinois temples intended "to defend Vallandigham at all hazards" when he returned to the United States. James M. Forrester, posing as a Southern sympathizer, reported that former United States Senator James S. Green of Missouri was the most active and most influential man in the "Quincy chapter." Edward F. Hoffman, who crossed Illinois to seek information in Cincinnati and elsewhere, wrote his superiors that Illinois was "the great focus" of the O.A.K. and the only state with "a complete organization."⁵³

Sanderson, confused by contradictory reports from his agents, letters confiscated in the mails, a clipping from the *Eaton* (Ohio) *Gazette*, Wright's *Address*, the "confessions"

⁵² Statement, Apr. 27, 1865, Holt Papers; Wright to John D. Caton, Nov. 1, 1862, Caton Papers (Lib. of Cong.); Green B. Smith Papers (MSS, Citizens' File, 1861-65, Confederate Records, War Dept. Files, Natl. Archives). The veracity of Sanderson's informers is open to question. S. Byron Jones, for example, was "a rebel officer charged with various crimes"; William Jones and William Stinson, both employed as detectives and investigators, had been imprisoned and were on parole when Sanderson arrived in St. Louis. Report (MS copy), Sanderson to Rosecrans, June 12, 1864, Sanderson Collection.

⁵³ Reports on the Order of American Knights (copies, MSS, Judge Adv. Gen. Records, War Dept. Files, Natl. Archives): Jones to Sanderson, May 8, 17, 1864; Taylor to Sanderson, June 17, 1863, June 18, 1864; Forrester to Sanderson, May 28, 1864; Hoffman to Sanderson, May 6, June 14, 1864.

of prisoners who gave information to get out of jail, and multitudinous rumors, set to work nevertheless with paste and scissors to evolve an O.A.K. exposé. Lincoln, Stanton and Grant intervened in behalf of some prominent St. Louis Democrats whom Sanderson arrested and tried to link to his O.A.K. plot.⁵⁴ In his long document "Conspiracy to Establish a Northwestern Confederacy" Sanderson wilfully attributed Wright's *Address* to Vallandigham, linked the O.A.K. to Confederate General Sterling Price, then threatening Missouri, and to Jefferson Davis, viewed the order as a lineal descendant of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and declared that its intent was to have the Northwest secede from the Union.⁵⁵ Failing to convince Lincoln and Stanton, Sanderson turned to his political patron and his newspaper friends to publicize and circulate the charge.⁵⁶ In a letter he urged Yates to use the story to stir the Union League into activity "until the Presidential election is over."⁵⁷

The *Illinois State Journal* and the *Chicago Tribune* reprinted the O.A.K. exposé from the *Missouri Democrat*, offering it as proof of Forrest's earlier charges. The *Tribune* welcomed the Sanderson report as eagerly as the children of Israel had welcomed the manna in the wilderness and enjoyed the discomfiture which it imposed on Storey of the *Times*. "The report of this great plot against Liberty and the Union is true," said the *Tribune* editorially—"true by proofs, by the confessions of those engaged therein, and true

⁵⁴ *War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 2, XXXIV: 337, Ser. 2, VII: 411, 417; *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., 9 vols., New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VII: 436n. Stanton added insult to injury by refusing an allotment from the contingent fund to defray the expenses of Sanderson's detectives. Rosecrans to Lincoln, June 14, 1864, Nicolay-Hay MSS.

⁵⁵ Sanderson, "Conspiracy to Establish a Northwestern Confederacy," MS, Sanderson Collection. Material from which this report was compiled is in *Official Records*, Ser. 2, VII: 228-366, 626-60, 712-54.

⁵⁶ Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 187-94; Rosecrans to Lincoln, June 14, 1864, Nicolay-Hay MSS; Samuel P. Heintzelman, "Journal" (MS), June 24, 1864, Heintzelman Papers (Lib. of Cong.).

⁵⁷ Endorsement by Sanderson on L. Newland to Editor *Mo. Democrat*, July 28, 1864, Yates Papers.

by the logical probabilities of the opposition that the Government has encountered."⁵⁸ Forrest needed to invent no more tales, for the O.A.K. exposé implicated scores of Illinois Democrats. There was some demand for the arrest of those whom Sanderson had linked with the order. S. L. Spink of Paris wrote Yates:

We have the Deputy Grand Commander of the O.A.K.'s for the State of Illinois (I refer to Amos Green) in our county; he is mustering his subordinates; meetings are held weekly in every township in the county; they are drilling by hundreds in various parts of Edgar [County] and with the avowed purpose of resisting the draft. . . . The administration *seems to be* totally blind to the fact that the government is resting upon a volcano.⁵⁹

Democratic editors, of course, were as quick to refute Sanderson as Forrest. They pointed out that the account credited Illinois with 50,000 more American Knights than there were Democrats in the state. The Democratic *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis labeled the "astounding disclosures" as humbuggery and charged that the "bungling" author's handiwork was "full of contradictions and inconsistencies." Lanhier reminded the *Register's* readers that another election was approaching and that Republican renegades had cried "Wolf" so often that no one could believe them. He pointed out that the "mare's nests" and "washer woman conspiracies" had previously been exposed, and that the St. Louis O.A.K. plot was the "most absurd" of all the Republican "revelations"—perhaps a pretext for martial law and an excuse to control the elections. Storey in one editorial denied any complicity in O.A.K. affairs and in another expressed his disbelief in all Sanderson's claims.⁶⁰

In alarm at the Sanderson exposé, Judd's ephemeral Sons

⁵⁸ *Mo. Democrat*, July 28, 1864; Sanderson, "O.A.K. Scrapbook," Sanderson Collection; *Ill. State Jour.*, Aug. 2, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1864.

⁵⁹ Spink to Yates, Aug. 24, 1864, Yates Papers.

⁶⁰ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 4, 1864; *Detroit Free Press*, Aug. 2, 1864; *Mo. Republican*, July 29, 1864; *Ill. State Reg.*, Aug. 4, 1864; *Chicago Times*, July 30, 1864.

of Liberty disintegrated; any Democratic secret society—even with the most honorable objectives—was very vulnerable. The *Indianapolis Journal* had already tried to depict the Sons of Liberty as traitorous and subversive, and Judd realized that those who are slandered suffer despite their innocence. The Sons were ill-organized at best, and after the last “indifferent sprinkling of members” met early in July, 1864 the organization died by default. Despite the dissolution of the order, the *Cincinnati Gazette* repeated the claim that there were 100,000 to 120,000 members of the Sons of Liberty in Illinois, adequately armed, and that the plans for establishing a Northwestern Confederacy were already drawn. Vallandigham, titled Supreme National Commander of the Sons of Liberty, gave Republican propagandists an assist by claiming an extensive membership for the order in a public speech at Monmouth, Illinois. He told his listeners that the order was intended “to promote Jeffersonian doctrine and protect individual rights” and was necessary to counteract the work of the Union Leagues.⁶¹ Vallandigham’s utterances helped to develop a legend, for the order existed more in Republican imagination than in fact.

Washington officials, meanwhile, gave way to pressure to present an official report of subversive societies. Stanton ordered Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt to examine the accusations, investigate the conflicting evidence and prepare a report upon the serpentine societies. Holt sifted the stack of material which Sanderson had sent to Washington while he waited for information from Carrington, Morton’s military aide, and from Brigadier General Lafayette C. Baker, special agent or provost marshal of the War Department. Carrington, who had been so generous with accusations and contentions, needed prodding to furnish his share of the evidence. Holt found the information contradictory, confusing and am-

⁶¹ Judd to Lincoln, Mar. 3, 1865, Nicolay-Hay MSS; *Indianapolis Journal*, June 29, Aug. 8, 1864; *Cincinnati Gazette*, Aug. 7, 1864; *Chicago Times*, Oct. 22, 1864.

biguous. Sanderson's evidence concerned the Order of American Knights; Carrington's, the Sons of Liberty; and Baker's, the Knights of the Golden Circle. Each claimed the same Midwesterners and the same rumors for his organization—a fact which should have prompted Holt to doubt the veracity of each reporter's claims. The Judge Advocate General, relying heavily upon Sanderson, turned out an interesting document in time for the political campaign preceding the November, 1864 elections.⁶²

Holt's report depicted the secret societies as treasonable in nature, revolutionary in spirit and extensive in membership. It labeled Vollandigham "the high-priest" of the subversive organization, adding that Robert Holloway of Illinois served as "deputy supreme commander, during the absence of Vollandigham from the country." It credited Illinois with the largest membership of any state—100,000 to 140,000 out of a 500,000 total. The Illinois members were credited with being "unusually well armed with revolvers, carbines, etc." Principal lodges were supposed to exist in Chicago and Springfield, and the "notorious guerilla chief Jackman" was credited with having founded a large proportion of the lodges in and around Quincy. The Charleston riot was blamed on secret society members and called "wholesale assassination of Union soldiers by members of the order and their confederates." Holt also linked the peace movement to the secret societies. He ended his indictment with a literary flourish:

Judea produced but one Judas Iscariot, and Rome, from the sinks of her demoralization, produced but one Cataline; and yet, as events prove, there has arisen in our land an entire brood of traitors, all animated by the same parricidal spirit, and all struggling with the same ruthless malignity for the dismemberment of the Union.⁶³

⁶² Holt to Carrington, Aug. 30, 1864, in "Complications during the Draft," Carrington Papers (Archives Div., Ind. State Lib.); Stanton to Carrington, Sept. 19, 1864, in "War Telegrams of 1864" (typed copies, *ibid.*); Baker to Charles A. Dana, Sept. 3, 1864, Holt Papers. Scholars interested in evaluating Holt's report should be familiar with Seymour J. Frank, "The Conspiracy to Implicate the Confederate Leaders in Lincoln's Assassination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XL (Mar., 1954), 629-56.

⁶³ *Official Records*, Ser. 2, VII: 930-53.

The report was an effective Republican electioneering document. The Union Executive Congressional Committee, of which Elihu B. Washburne was a member, printed thousands of copies and broadcast them over the land. Pamphlets like *The Great Northern Conspiracy of the S.O.L.* (n.p., n.d.) and *The Copperhead Conspiracy in the Northwest . . .* (Washington, 1864) were based on the Holt treatise, and the secret-society scare and the treason-conspired issue were used with devastating effect in the presidential election which pitted George B. McClellan against Lincoln seeking a second term. Even long-time Democrats swallowed the charges, expressed a willingness to see Vallandigham and others accused of "traitorous activities" dangling at the end of a rope, and voted for Republican candidates.⁶⁴

Democratic editors retaliated by attacks on Holt and his "partisan electioneering document." The *State Register* labeled Holt's charges "a conglomeration of falsehoods"—a "precious pottage" cooked in the cauldron of his imagination. The Judge Advocate General was called a "scavenger for the despicable masters he serves," a modern Titus Oates, and a "deliberate and atrocious liar." The roiled Lanphier even suggested that the report was Holt's bid for a place on the United States Supreme Court. Some Democrats advanced the thesis that the exposés of Holt and others were mere excuses to substitute martial law for free elections, and tried to evolve the slogan "A free election or a free fight." Vallandigham denounced the charges caustically and unequivocally. "I have only to say that, as far as I am concerned," he wrote in self-defense, "they [the charges] are absolute falsehoods and fabrications from beginning to end. They

⁶⁴ D. N. Cooley to Washburne, Oct. 20, 1864, Washburne Papers; John McGaffey to William Henry Smith, Nov. 17, 1864, Smith Papers (Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc. Lib.). William Zornow, "Treason as a Campaign Issue in the Re-election of Lincoln," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, V (June, 1949), 348-63, treats the topic in a cursory fashion.

are false in the aggregate and they are false in detail."⁶⁵ Vallandigham was nevertheless a millstone around McClellan's neck. The Republicans held all the aces in the game of bluff and the Democrats could only counter by claiming that their adversaries repeatedly dealt from the bottom of the deck.

Meanwhile energetic Governor Morton and his military aide set traps for prominent Indiana Democrats, arrested some well-known ones and instituted treason trials which ground grist for the Republican mill.⁶⁶

While Morton waged war on the Sons of Liberty and the Democrats in Indiana and Holt performed his exercise in composition, a self-styled detective busied himself in developing an exposé in Chicago. I[sai]ah Winslow Ayer, a strange character who posed as a doctor and kept a concubine in the McCormick Building, worked overtime to develop a plot so that he could expose it. Ayer had tried to interest Congressman Isaac N. Arnold in "a most fearful conspiracy" which could be exploded by a "key" Ayer claimed he possessed; Arnold, suspicious of the source, refused to believe that such a conspiracy existed. So Ayer found in the *Tribune* office a patron who sent him to Yates. Ayer, who expected to collect \$5,000 for his sleuthing, assured the Governor that "a gigantic scheme of treason to aid Southern Rebels, to create a further secession and to establish a Northwestern Confederacy, and to carry the election by arms" would be exploded. Yates and Forrest secured an agent's appointment for Ayer, and the excited impostor hurried to Chicago to set the wheels

⁶⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 23, 1864; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 16, 19, 1864 (clippings, Holt Papers); *Ill. State Reg.*, Oct. 18, 21, 1864; George I. King to Yates, Sept. 9, 1864, Yates Papers; Vallandigham to Editor *New York News*, Oct. 22, 1864, in Edward McPherson, ed., *The Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion . . .* (Washington, 1882), 423.

⁶⁶ The story as related in Benn Pitman, ed., *The Trials for Treason at Indianapolis Disclosing the Plans for a Northwestern Conspiracy* (Salem, Ind., 1865) and Felix G. Stidger, *Treason History of the Sons of Liberty* (Chicago, 1903), needs more than modification. The H. H. Dodd conspiracy, in fact, offers a challenge to scholars interested in historical detective work. Kenneth Stampp, "The Milligan Case and the Election of 1864 in Indiana," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI (June, 1944), 41-58, analyzes the political aspects of the Indianapolis treason trials in scholarly fashion.

in motion. He did his best to convince some Chicago Copperheads and deluded Democrats that he shared their views—in their presence he violently criticized the Lincoln administration. He joined or formulated a secret club, set the pace in condemning the government, talked up treasonable projects and encouraged the group to collect a store of arms. He added several more detectives to his staff, who also took steps to encourage treason. He tried to entrap both Buckner S. Morris and S. Corning Judd. The latter, busy campaigning for lieutenant governor, expressed indignation when one of Ayer's agents, pretending to be an escaped prisoner from Camp Douglas, begged for food, money or shelter. Failing to entrap Judd, Ayer turned his attention to catching smaller fish in the "Camp Douglas Conspiracy," based on rumors that Canadian-based Confederate agents planned to release the prisoners in Camp Douglas at Chicago, and that Northern Copperheads wished to establish a Northwestern Conspiracy.⁶⁷

Republican charges of the intent and extent of Midwestern Copperheadism deceived the Confederates into sending agents to Canada to promote fifth-column work. These agents, mistaking the vocal protests of Midwestern Copperheads for disloyalty and fooled by the fables circulated by Sanderson and Holt, took action which burned their fingers—though in later days agents like Thomas H. Hines and Jacob Thompson brought their contentions into line with the claims and enigmatic exposés of Holt, Sanderson, Ayer and Morton.⁶⁸

On the eve of the November, 1864 elections the *Tribune*

⁶⁷ Testimony before Military Commission, Cincinnati, in *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 9, Mar. 15, 25, 31, Apr. 2, 1865; Ayer to Yates, Dec. 2, 1864, Yates Papers. An investigation of Ayer's claim that he was graduated from Harvard University and held two diplomas from the Eclectic Medical College of Cincinnati revealed him as a liar and impostor.

⁶⁸ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Aug. 26, 1864 (clipping), Nicolay-Hay MSS; *Official Records*, Ser. 1, XIV: 955; Memorandum (1864), Thomas Henry Hines Papers (University of Kentucky Library, Lexington); John W. Headley, *Confederate Operations in Canada and New York* (New York, 1906), 264; Thompson to Judah P. Benjamin, Dec. 3, 1864, Thompson Papers (Lib. of Cong.); John B. Castleman, "The Northwestern Conspiracy," *Southern Bivouac*, II (Dec., 1886-Mar., 1887), 437-55, 500-510, 567-74, 699-704.

featured the Ayer exposé and circulated it for political effect. Several arrests were made in Chicago to give substance to the charges, and later Ayer wrote a fabulous story of *The Great Northwest Conspiracy in All Its Startling Details*. . . .⁶⁹

The party of Yates and Lincoln scored a resounding victory at the polls. The Democratic Party, torn "all to flinders," licked its wounds while the Republicans celebrated. Republicans credited the secret-society exposés with a large share in their victory; the Indianapolis Sons of Liberty charge was estimated to have added 10,000 to the Republican majority in the Hoosier State alone. The O.A.K. revelations "aided everywhere the triumph of the Union cause." William Blair Lord wrote Holt, "I suppose the discovery of the conspiracy will go far to accounting for the great majority with which the West voted for the Union."⁷⁰

After the elections the Union army administered the final blows to the Confederate forces still in the field. On the home front the Morton-directed Indianapolis "treason trials" found four of the principals guilty of the charges and sentenced three to be hanged. The men arrested for complicity in the Camp Douglas conspiracy were transported to Cincinnati where, on January 11, 1865 the military commission began hearing the evidence. Judd testified in his own defense and in that of the society he had headed. Most of the testimony offered, he protested, was only conjecture; the evidence was "*suppositions and understandings and guesses and loose generalities*." The reputations of too many of the witnesses were suspect; several were blackguards and ex-felons. Schuyler Colfax, who later became vice-president, objected to convict-

⁶⁹ I. Winslow Ayer, *The Great Northwest Conspiracy* . . . (Chicago, 1865) and the *Chicago Tribune's* exposé (Nov. 8, 9, 1864) of the Camp Douglas conspiracy have been, unfortunately, the chief sources cited by historians and laymen treating the subject or aspects thereof. James D. Horan, *Confederate Agent: a Discovery in History* (New York, 1954) fails to use the Yates, Heintzelman, or H. E. Emmons Papers, and accepts much legend as fact.

⁷⁰ William H. H. Terrell to John T. Wilder, Sept. 6, 1864, Wilder Papers (Archives Div., Ind. State Lib.); Heintzelman, "Journal," July 29, 1864, Heintzelman Papers; *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 27, 1864; Rosecrans to Garfield, Dec. 30, 1864; Garfield Papers; Lord to Holt, Nov. 13, 1864, Holt Papers.

ing men on the testimony of a witness on whose evidence he wouldn't "hang a cat."⁷¹

Judd insisted that the Sons of Liberty were only

intended as an auxiliary of the Democratic party, and to preserve the freedom of election. . . . The great object was to place ourselves in antagonism to the so-called Loyal [Union] Leagues and secure a floating population [which] the Opposition were obtaining. We had reason to believe that the Democracy were to be disarmed and the order suppressed. We only desired to act on the defensive under the constitution and the law.

In a letter to Lincoln the Fulton County Democrat reported that he had attended every meeting of the "State Council" of the Sons of Liberty and that "such a matter as to attempt to release rebel prisoners at Camp Douglas or elsewhere . . . was never proposed."⁷²

Vallandigham also tried to vindicate himself and defend the Sons of Liberty. The secret society as he knew it, he insisted at Cincinnati, was a mutual protection society interested in safeguarding civil liberties and inherent rights, counteracting the activities of the Union Leagues, and electing Democrats to office. He emphasized that he had spoken publicly, in Illinois and elsewhere, of the "honorable" objectives of the Sons of Liberty. The testimony of the outspoken Ohioan endorsed that of Judd.⁷³

The Cincinnati verdict was relegated to the background by the surrender of Lee and Johnston. The three men imprisoned as a result were neither prominent Democrats nor Copperheads, but unknowns led into Ayer's web; ultimately they were pardoned or reprieved, as were those sentenced to death at Indianapolis. "From the political point of view," wrote Silas F. Miller with prophetic vision, "it can do our party no good to shed more blood; but on the contrary if we are

⁷¹ Judd to Lincoln, Mar. 3, 1865, Nicolay-Hay MSS; Colfax to Holt, Jan. 28, 1865, Holt Papers.

⁷² Testimony of Judd before Military Commission, Cincinnati, in *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 2, 1865; Judd to Lincoln, Mar. 3, 1865, Nicolay-Hay MSS.

⁷³ Testimony of Vallandigham before Military Commission, Cincinnati, in *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Mar. 30, 1865.

merciful, the child is not yet born who will see the defeat of the Republican party." Despite all the accusations, slanderous charges, revelations and exposés, not enough evidence was brought forth to justify the taking of a single life for secret-society activity or treason.⁷⁴

Lincoln's assassination again brought accusations against the secret societies. Some attributed the President's death to "Knights" or "Sons"; James R. Gilmore wrote Holt that "the plot which resulted in the death of Mr. Lincoln was conceived and nursed in the 'American Knights' organization." But Holt was after bigger game, trying to implicate top Confederate leaders in the assassination.⁷⁵

Lincoln's burial and Grant's retirement from military life did not stop the rumors spouting and spiraling out of the war. Their state, ironically enough, was credited with having the largest and best organized secret society. But while the charges were many, the evidence was unconvincing. In fact, the subversive society bogey-man was a political apparition intended solely to aid Republicans in defeating Democrats at the polls.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Miller to Morton, May 15, 1865, Miscellaneous Letters File, Ind. State Hist. Soc. Lib.; Morton to Andrew Johnson, May 13, 25, 1865, Morton Papers (Archives Div., Ind. State Lib.); William H. H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, 1869), I: 314.

⁷⁵ James R. Gilmore to Holt, Apr. 22, 1865, Holt Papers. Holt emerges dishonored and besmirched in Frank, "The Conspiracy to Implicate the Confederate Leaders in Lincoln's Assassination," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XL (Mar., 1954), 629-56.

⁷⁶ Major General Henry W. Halleck wrote Grant, "I have never been a believer in most of the plots, secret societies, etc., of which we have so many pretended discoveries." *Official Records*, Ser. 1, XLII, Pt. 2, p. 112. Gustave Koerner realized that the Camp Douglas "conspiracy" was incredible. Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 437. Lincoln's disbelief is partially revealed in Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, 187-94. The Yates Papers, a magnificent collection of letters which came to the Governor's desk, fail to substantiate any of the exposés which originated in Forrest's mind or in the *Tribune's* editorial offices.

LINCOLN AND THE JEWS

BY BERTRAM W. KORN

EVEN after completing the research for my book *American Jewry and the Civil War*,¹ Lincoln's reference to "Jews" in this significant letter still puzzled me:

EXECUTIVE MANSION

WASHINGTON JAN. 25. 1865

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR.

About Jews. I wish you would give Dr. Zacharie a pass to go to Savannah, remain a week and return, bringing with him, if he wishes, his father and sisters or any of them. This will spare me trouble and oblige me—I promised him long ago that he should be allowed this whenever Savannah should fall into our hands.

Blumenberg, at Baltimore. I think he should have a hearing. He has suffered for us & served us well—had the rope around his neck for being our friend—raised troops—fought, and been wounded. He should not be dismissed in a way that disgraces and ruins him without a hearing.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN²

Dr. Isachar Zacharie was a British-born chiropodist whose

¹ Philadelphia, 1951.

² *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association edition, 9 vols., New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VIII: 238.

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professional services were employed by Lincoln, and whom the President sent to New Orleans as a private agent in 1862-1863 and utilized as a personal envoy in secret negotiations for peace with the Confederacy in late 1863, over the objections of Secretary of State William H. Seward. An ardent political supporter of the President, Zacharie had worked untiringly for his re-election in 1864. The "pass to go to Savannah" was "issued & sent to Mr. Nicolay" the same day.³

Major Leopold Blumenberg, an ardent Republican high in the councils of German-American organizations, had sacrificed much for the Union cause in that hotbed of secessionist sympathy, Baltimore. The wounds he received at Antietam never healed and were the eventual cause of his death in 1876. The situation to which Lincoln referred in the letter under discussion concerned Blumenberg's removal from the office of provost marshal for the second district of Maryland on a number of charges mainly involving misdemeanors on the part of members of his staff. From an incomplete War Department record and other sources, Blumenberg appears to have cleared his name and to have been promoted to a brevet brigadier generalship after the war.⁴

In both cases Lincoln was requesting favors for deserving men under attack. The newspapers assailed his friendship with Zacharie with a continual barrage of criticism and

³ Lincoln's testimonial to Zacharie's skill as a chiropodist is in *ibid.*, V: 436; Stanton's reply to Lincoln, *ibid.*, VIII: 238. For further discussion of Zacharie see Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War*, 194-202; Charles M. Segal, "Isachar Zacharie: Lincoln's Chiropodist," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLIII, No. 2 (Dec., 1953), 71-126. John G. Nicolay was Lincoln's private secretary.

⁴ War Department records, Office of the Adjutant General: Extract with S-345 v.s. Special Order No. 146; Extract with S-345 v.s. 1863—Special Order No. 201; S-345 v.s. 1863 (B961), June 9, 1863; 524018 with S-345 v.s. 1863 (re muster); Office of the Provost Marshal General, Letter Book No. 4 (A-L), p. 42; 105-B-1865, referring to a ring of civilians in and out of Blumenberg's office, who obtained fraudulent exemptions for conscripts on the basis of false medical reports. See also *The Jewish Record* [Philadelphia], Aug. 25, 1876. Stanton's answer to Lincoln, Jan. 25, 1865 (*Collected Works*, VIII: 238) asserts that one of the charges on the basis of which Blumenberg was dismissed was "cruelty in gag[g]ing men to make them confess they were deserters." The basic records on Blumenberg's discharge have not been located in the War Department files or the National Archives.

ridicule; most of the influential figures in Washington governmental circles disliked the Jewish chiropodist intensely. And Blumenberg obviously had become involved in a great deal of trouble. Enough then for Lincoln to pen the request. But why should he have begun the letter "About Jews"?

One historian has suggested that Lincoln had discussed these cases with Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton prior to writing the letter, and was thus refreshing Stanton's memory. But it was not Lincoln's habit to refer to such conversations in beginning letters, and there is no record of any letters beginning "About Abolitionists" or "About Hungarians" or "About Methodists." Another suggested that Lincoln was amused that he should be asking for favors for two Jews at once, since there were only about 150,000 Jews in the United States at the time. Still another felt that this letter indicated that Lincoln was expressing reluctance to ask favors for two "Jews." Was Zacharie giving Lincoln "trouble" by insisting on a reward for his activities in the President's behalf to the extent that Lincoln would feel a desire to be finished with matters "about Jews"? So far from having prejudice against the Jews, however, there is no doubt in my mind that the Great Emancipator was genuinely and sincerely tolerant toward them. A few episodes will give positive proof for this assertion.

In July, 1861, Congress passed a volunteer bill authorizing the raising of troops to fight the Confederacy. The section on chaplains stated that every regimental chaplain must be a "regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination." This discriminatory clause was passed despite the attempt of Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio to amend it by substituting the words "religious society" for "Christian denomination," so that rabbis might serve the men of their faith in uniform.⁵ There was, of course, agitation among American Jews over this slight; the Board of Delegates

⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 100.

of American Israelites, the only national Jewish organization then committed to the defense of Jewish rights, dispatched a New York rabbi, the Rev. Arnold Fischel, to Washington to serve as a civilian chaplain for Jewish soldiers and to press for a change in the law. Fischel interviewed Lincoln and persuaded him of the injustice of the limitation, and received this memorandum testifying to the President's interest:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
DECEMBER 13, 1861.

REV. DR. A. FISCHEL

MY DEAR SIR:

I find that there are several particulars in which the present law in regard to Chaplains is supposed to be deficient, all of which I now design presenting to the appropriate Committee of Congress. I shall try to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN⁶

Lincoln fulfilled his pledge by bringing his wishes to the attention of the appropriate committees. So finally, on July 17, 1862, for the first time in American history, it was legal for a rabbi to be commissioned as a chaplain. Lincoln proved his friendship for the Jews by having the discriminatory phrase removed.

In March, 1863, Lincoln was visited by Henry Wentworth Monk, the eccentric Canadian pacifist and Christian Zionist, who endeavored to persuade the President to abandon the war against the Confederacy. Failing in this, he tried to interest Lincoln in the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Though agreeing that the project was worthy, Lincoln protested that the United States was too busy with the war to take a major role in any such international problem. According to Monk, he said: "I myself have a regard for the Jews.

⁶ *Collected Works*, V: 69 (dated Dec. 14) from secondary source. Original letter not located but Dr. Fischel's copy in report to the Board dates it Dec. 13.

My chiropodist is a Jew, and he has so many times 'put me upon my feet' that I would have no objection to giving his countrymen 'a leg up.'"⁷ These quaint and typically Lincolnnesque phrases were surely not those of an unfriendly man.

On December 17, 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant's headquarters in Holly Springs, Mississippi, published one of the most anti-Semitic attacks in American history:

HDQRS. 13TH A.C., DEPT. OF THE TENN.,
HOLLY SPRINGS, DECEMBER 17, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 11

The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order.

Post commanders will see that all of this class of people be furnished passes and required to leave, and any one returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permit from headquarters.

No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits.

By order of Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant:

JNO. A. RAWLINS,
ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL.⁸

One cannot discount the chicanery, thievery, malfeasance in office of high-ranking military personnel, the anti-Semitism of Major General William T. Sherman, and the probable responsibility of high officials in the War Department for the hatred-laden reports which were the cause of Grant's issuance of the order.⁹

There was no more foundation for regarding all Jews in the area as criminals and lawbreakers than there ever is for any blanket indictment. Several delegations immediately set

⁷ Richard S. Lambert, *For the Time Is at Hand* (Toronto, 1947), 82.

⁸ *War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 424.

⁹ Korn, *American Jewry*, 121-55.

out for Washington to protest to Lincoln. One group, led by Cesar J. Kaskel of Paducah, Kentucky, readily secured admission to Lincoln's second-floor office in the White House. They had brought documentary evidence to prove that the Jews of Paducah (who, since the town was included in the jurisdiction of the Army of the Tennessee, had been summarily expelled from their homes and businesses) were loyal, law-abiding citizens; they offered testimonials to their character from leading non-Jewish citizens; some displayed honorable discharge papers from the Army in which they had served their terms to protect the Union. Another delegation was headed by the famed Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati.¹⁰

Lincoln needed no pleading or urging to convince him that the Jews had been wronged. General-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck on January 4, 1863 issued instructions for the immediate revocation of the order by Grant,¹¹ and on January 21 appended to a telegram to Grant on routine military matters the following paragraph:

It may be proper to give you some explanation of the revocation of your order expelling all Jews from your department. The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which, I suppose, was the object of your order; but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it.¹²

Since Halleck himself may have been ultimately responsible for the order, his expression about the expulsion of "Jew peddlers" must not be taken too seriously.¹³ Lincoln certainly would not have approved the expulsion of any group as a group; he believed in the judgment of members of all groups as individuals only. As he said to the delegation led by Rabbi Wise, "To condemn a class is, to say the least, to wrong the good with the bad. I do not like to hear a class or national-

¹⁰ *The Israelite* [Cincinnati], Jan. 16, 1863.

¹¹ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, p. 530.

¹² *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. I, p. 9.

¹³ Korn, *American Jewry*, 142.

ity condemned on account of a few sinners.”¹⁴ Wise, a Democrat who had been bitterly critical of Lincoln during the preceding years, said in his report to *The Israelite*, of which he was editor:

The President, we must confess, fully illustrated to us and convinced us that he knows of no distinction between Jew and Gentile, that he feels no prejudice against any nationality, and that he by no means will allow that a citizen in any wise be wronged on account of his place of birth or religious confession. He illustrated this point to us in a very happy manner.¹⁵

A hitherto unknown and unpublished Lincoln letter which I recently had the good fortune to obtain for my collection of Jewish Americana adds one more to the few references to Jews to be found in the writings of Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, NOV. 4, 1862.

HON. SEC. OF WAR.

SIR

I believe we have not yet appointed a Hebrew—As Cherie M. Levy, is well vouched, as a capable and faithful man, let him be appointed an Assistant Quarter-Master, with the rank of Captain.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

This appointment was not a political reward; Levy was the son-in-law of Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun of New York City, who was a Democrat and defended slavery. Lincoln was, I believe, living up to his conviction that minority groups ought to be given fitting and fair recognition—and more! He was conscious of the anti-Semitic prejudice which rose to a high point during the tensions and crises of the Civil War and went out of his way to be kind

¹⁴ *The Israelite*, Jan. 8, 1863, as cited in Bertram W. Korn, *Eventful Years and Experiences* (Cincinnati, 1954), 136-37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* See also *Collected Works*, VII: 323, VIII: 213-14. There is, however, no evidence to support Rabbi Wise's statement in his eulogy of Lincoln after the assassination: "Brethren, the lamented Abraham Lincoln believed himself to be bone from our bone and flesh from our flesh. He supposed himself to be a descendant of Hebrew parentage. He said so in my presence." Korn, *American Jewry*, 189.

Executive Mansion,

Washington. Nov. 4 1862

Hon. Sec. of War.
Sir

I believe we have not yet appointed a Hebrew - Ascher. Mr. Levy, is well vouched, as a capable and faithful man, let him be appointed an Assistant Quartermaster, with the rank of Captain.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

LINCOLN ASKS APPOINTMENT OF A HEBREW

to Jews. Many applicants were "well vouched" as "capable and faithful" men; but the fact that Levy was a Jew apparently made Lincoln eager to fulfill his request.¹⁶

Unfortunately, Lincoln's confidence in Levy's integrity was misplaced. On October 9, 1863 he was cashiered from the army after being convicted of signing a false certificate relating to the pay of men under his command. When Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy sought Lincoln's intervention in the case, he replied:

I have examined Killingworth's evidence in Capt. Levy's case, and I must say it makes too bad a record to admit of my interference—in

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-20, 108; General Orders No. 332, AGO, Oct. 9, 1863 (Record Group 94), Special Orders No. 41, Headquarters of the Army, Feb. 18, 1869 (RG 94), Records of Volunteer Officers of the Quartermaster Department, Civil War, 1861-1865 (RG 92), War Department Records, National Archives; Raphael to Lincoln, March 1, 1864 (in appreciation of a favor done Levy after his discharge), S. F. Chalfin to Levy, July 16, 1864, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress.

fact, it could not be worse. In the nature of the case, K. alone, of all competent witnesses, can know whether Capt. L's hypothesis is true or false, and he most fully disproves it. He fully proves also that Capt. L. sought to have him testify falsely. To interfere, under the circumstances, would blacken my own character.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN¹⁷

Lincoln's concern for the Jews was obviously not dictated by an appeal for Jewish votes, since they were in such a numerical minority as to be unable to influence the result of an election. Furthermore, as Lincoln was informed by a letter of October 26, 1864 from Myer S. Isaacs, editor of the *Jewish Messenger* of New York:

. . . I deem it my duty to add a word to those that have doubtless been communicated to you from other sources, with reference to a recent "visitation" on the part of persons claiming to represent the Israelites of New York or the United States and pledging the "Jewish vote" to your support. . . .

The Israelites are not, as a body, distinctively Union or democratic in their politics. In the conduct of our Journal, for example, while, from the first firing upon our national flag, there has been a steady support of the government in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the Union and crush the unhallowed rebellion, there has also been a studied persistence in the expression of what is an implicit belief, that the Jews, as a body, have no *politics*. . . . This is predicated on our direct knowledge of the character and opinions of our coreligionists. . . .

There is no "Jewish vote"—if there were, it could not be bought. As a body of intelligent men, we are advocates of the cherished principles of liberty & justice, and must inevitably support and advocate those who are the exponents of such a platform—"liberty & Union, now and forever."¹⁸

On November 1 John Hay, writing for Lincoln, replied:

You are in error in the assumptions you make in regard to the circumstances of the recent interview to which you refer, between certain gentlemen of the Hebrew faith, and the President. No pledge of the Jewish vote was made by these gentlemen and no inducements or promises

¹⁷ *Collected Works*, VII: 4-5.

¹⁸ Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, Lib. of Cong.

were extended to them by the President. They claimed no such authority, and received no such response as you seem to suppose.¹⁹

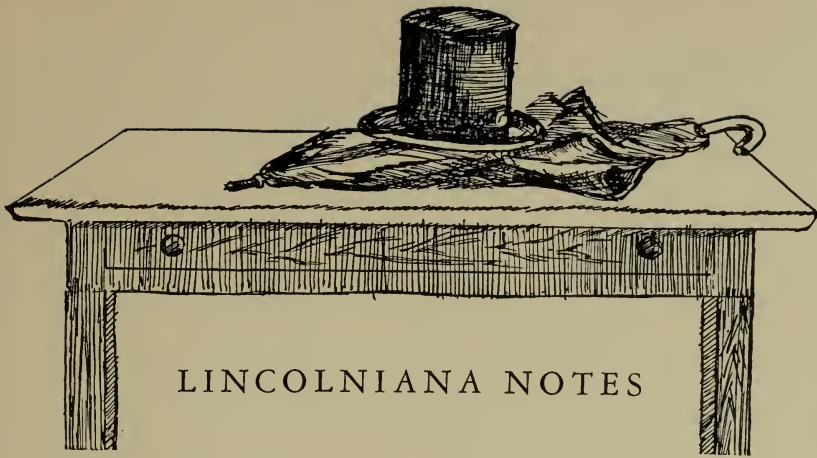
Whatever, then, may have been Lincoln's reason for beginning his letter of January 25, 1865 with the words "About Jews," it seems clear that there was no trace of anti-Semitic prejudice. The Lincoln who urged a change in the law of Congress to permit the appointment of Jewish chaplains; who ordered the revocation of an anti-Semitic General Order issued by the only Union general who seemed capable of winning battles; and who recommended the appointment of an assistant quartermaster on the grounds of his being "a Hebrew," could not have had any prejudice against the Jews.

On the contrary, he seems to have had an unusual sympathy for them. Perhaps his deep love for the Bible and the tragedies of his own personal life made him feel a kinship with these sons of the prophets. It is my personal opinion, therefore, that when Lincoln wrote "About Jews," he was in effect saying to Stanton, who disliked Zacharie (perhaps on account of his Jewish origin) and had previously denied him a pass to Savannah:²⁰ "I know there is prejudice against the Jews. I know there is intolerance toward them. Therefore I label these two men, Zacharie and Blumenberg, as Jews. I want you to know that I know they are Jews. I anticipate any objection based on their religious affiliation. Just because they *are* Jews I want to be generous to them."

I believe it to be entirely possible that other as yet undiscovered and unpublished documents will bear out my contention that Lincoln was predisposed to be kind to Jews just because he was conscious of the effects of bigotry and intolerance upon their lives. Is this not what we would expect from the great spirit who spoke of a nation which would live "with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right"?

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes, *War Letters 1862-1865* (Boston, 1927), 442, as cited in Segal, "Isachar Zacharie," 118-19.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

LINCOLN AND THE MASONS

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently acquired a bound copy of the first five volumes (1862-1866) of *The Masonic Trowel*, published in Springfield. Only a few copies of this publication are known to be extant. Its editor, Harman G. Reynolds, was born in Saratoga County, New York in 1810 and came to Illinois in 1837, the year he was admitted to the bar. Settling in Rock Island, he taught school, served as probate justice (1839-1847), edited the *Upper Mississippian* (1844-1846), was postmaster (1847-1849), and circuit attorney of the Tenth Judicial District (1850-1853). In 1850 he moved to Cambridge, Henry County, and the next year to Knoxville, where he was elected to a four-year term as county judge in 1853 and appointed postmaster in 1854. Four years later Reynolds moved to Springfield, where he had served as assistant secretary of the constitutional convention in 1847. He was assistant clerk of the House of Representatives in 1849 and again in 1861.

He served as Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Illinois Masons from 1851 until he began a two-year service

as Grand Master in 1868. His son John C. Reynolds joined him in publishing the *Trowel* in 1865. A fire on February 22, 1868 completely destroyed the office of the paper and "every dollar of his [Reynolds'] earthly possessions."¹ Reynolds went to Marshall County, Kansas, several years later and is said to have spent the rest of his life there practicing law.

At the time of Lincoln's death *The Masonic Trowel* had a circulation of more than 5,000, principally in Illinois and the Midwest, and was growing rapidly. The issue of May 15, 1865, the first after the assassination, is of unusual interest because its editor had known Lincoln and had always been a Democrat. On the first page is an anonymous poem of ten four-line stanzas entitled "Springfield's Welcome to Lincoln." An article on the fifth page, "Our Duty as Masons in the Present Crisis," was reprinted from the *New York Courier* of April 22. In an editorial of more than two pages Reynolds says in part:

We [Reynolds] have known Mr. LINCOLN ever since 1840. Previous to that time he had been engaged in farming, flatboating, trading, surveying, and attending to all sorts of business for his neighbors and friends. He learned law, and everything else, intuitively. So his neighbors and friends felt, and all who became attached to him remained so. Even if they differed with him and sometimes voted against him, they all liked him. It does not seem possible that any one could dislike him. We knew some of his old neighbors at Knoxville who were against him politically, but for him every other way. When he became a candidate for President, they all supported him. He became a member of the Legislature as early as 1836 [1834], and when we met him at Springfield, in 1840, he was in good repute as a lawyer and a leading member of the House.

In that House were such men as Hardin, McClernand, Trumbull, Ewing, Cyrus Edwards, Webb, Cavarly, John J. Brown, Peck, Bissell, Henderson, Dougherty, Murphy, and many whom we cannot call to mind, who were noted for ability. In the Senate were Gatewood, Baker, Herndon,

¹ John C. Power, *History of Springfield, Illinois* (Springfield, 1871), 85-86. The first issue of the *Trowel* appeared on April 15, 1862, and twelve eight-page numbers were issued by the end of the year. Thereafter the issues were dated on the fifteenth of each month and consisted of sixteen pages nine by twelve inches.

Hacker, Richardson, Davidson, Snyder, and John Moore. These names we give from recollection merely. Douglas was Secretary of State, and Shields Auditor. Such a galaxy of talent never assembled in any Illinois Legislature before or since, and several of these have been men of note in Congress; they would be noted anywhere.

The people are accustomed to look upon Mr. LINCOLN as he appeared when elected President. The pictures and photographs that meet the eye everywhere, even when flattering him, by no means do justice to his appearance in early manhood. The first time we saw him to know him, he rose to address the House. His figure was tall, and his face was sufficiently full to relieve the prominences so noticeable in later life. Although dark, yet his face was fresh almost to floridness, his eye brilliant and speaking; his hair was heavy and well-dressed, and greatly added to his appearance. No man in the House seemed to care so little for dress, and yet no one dressed in better taste. Humor, mercy, and talent were ineffaceably delineated upon his countenance. The very first impression made upon us was that he could be implicitly trusted, and he had not spoken five minutes until we felt certain that he was a man of power; the rich and musical intonations of his voice, his honest utterances, and naive, homebred way of thinking and speaking, so unlike other men, convinced us that injustice and oppression would find in him no friend.

In speaking of his talents, an incident which occurred in our office comes back very vividly to our mind.

Just after the Presidential election in 1860, a gentleman hailing both from New York and Boston called upon us and made himself known to us as a Mason. We soon discovered that he wished to see the President elect. Our remarks were such that it became apparent to us *some weeks afterwards* that he took us for a Lincoln man. At last he ventured upon an analysis of character and comparison of talents, and gave utterance to the indiscretion, so common to eastern men and so offensive to western men, that the talent, learning, and genius was in the East, and that such things were exceptions to the general rule in the West, and remarked, in a half-interrogative way, that he presumed we did not think Mr. LINCOLN equal to Mr. Seward. We told him pointedly that Mr. LINCOLN was a man of more talent than any man in the Atlantic States, and, besides that, that he was more of a man than Mr. Seward in any aspect in which they could be placed. Events fully justify what we said.

Clay, Jackson, Douglas, and Lincoln came from the common strata of life, and toiled upward through want, constant privation and toil. They had felt the quality of compassion extended to them, and became schooled in its use themselves. It displayed itself in all Mr. LINCOLN's life, and

was the mainspring which wrought out in him such nobleness of character, and which gave warmth and active vitality to his powers of mind. Let it not be understood that he was tame or servile. He could resent effectively. He seldom did so, but when he did few would like to experience it a second time. He could fight, too, but if he did fight it was on the right side.

One anecdote must suffice to prove this. Some quarrelsome, insulting fellow came into a place where he was and misused a woman. The men were angry, and went to Mr. LINCOLN. He told them to whip the fellow. His command was law, and they undertook to punish the villain, but got beaten themselves. Some one reported this to Mr. LINCOLN, when he quietly remarked that he could whip him, and after a long rough-and-tumble fight he punished the brute so that he left.

He did not like to do such things, but he was ever ready to espouse the cause of the weak, the innocent, and the oppressed.

Undoubtedly, many criminals have avoided their just deserts through the great power of Mr. LINCOLN with juries. Yet no acquitted villain ever left the court room, after listening to Mr. LINCOLN's speech, without a desire to be a better man. It might be transient, but it was there.

It is the very common belief that a mirthful, humorous disposition cannot be the accompaniment of great talent or genius. Nothing is more untrue. Mr. LINCOLN was an original. He neither thought, reasoned, spoke, or acted like other men. The want of education led him to educate his own mind. His intuitiveness, power of comparison, intellectual force, and modest self-reliance, enabled him to arrive at conclusions and ends by methods of his own, and, thus disciplined, long after the necessity had passed away, he did the same things from the force of habit.

Partisans—those merely so—are apt to underrate the talent of opponents. In the great Senatorial race between Douglas and LINCOLN, the friends of the former thought he would easily vanquish the latter. Mr. Douglas knew better, and prepared himself accordingly. We challenge the world to produce so equal a contest, or one so great. Two better friends never lived, and none mourned for Douglas more sincerely than Mr. LINCOLN.²

Lincoln's association with the Masonic order is shown by a communication in the same issue from the Most Excellent Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, Benjamin B. French, Commissioner of Public Buildings.

² *The Masonic Trowel*, May 15, 1865, p. 70.

French had introduced Edward Everett, the speaker of the day, at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, and had also written an ode which was sung by a Baltimore glee club immediately before Lincoln's address.

We give room cheerfully to the following eloquent and characteristic letter from M. E. Grand Master FRENCH, of Washington.

After Mr. LINCOLN's election, signs of serious trouble were evidently manifest, and those Masons who knew Mr. LINCOLN's kindly and trusting nature were very anxious that he should become a Mason. Dr. [Ira A. W.] BUCK was then Grand Master, and in an easy way led Mr. LINCOLN to converse upon the subject. In the course of the conversation, Mr. LINCOLN remarked that he had often thought of the matter; that he believed it to be a good Institution, but no one had *asked* him to join, and he had put the matter off until business and other causes had engrossed his entire time. He made up his mind to be initiated, but after thinking the matter over he said that he would be liable to be charged with wrong motives, and he would defer the matter to some future time.

Knowing only what he then knew, the motive which impelled him to decline Masonic honors was creditable; knowing what every Master Mason knows, his decision is to be lamented, for had he been a Master Mason, the chances for assassination would have been less.

We can well imagine how Bro. FRENCH felt when pondering over these things at the side of his departed friend.

Let all read and ponder well this touching letter:

CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON CITY, APRIL 20, 1865.

MY DEAR BROTHER REYNOLDS:

Sitting here, as I do, watching over the remains of the great Illinoisan, who was last Friday evening murdered by the hand of an assassin, it seems fit and proper that I should write to you, for you can fully appreciate our loss, and you can feel, with me, that if we have not lost a *brother*, we have almost a *father*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was not a Free Mason, but he should have been. His pure heart, his honest and upright life, his kindly feeling toward every human being, his love of his country, his devotion to all her institutions, indeed his entire character as a man, would have made him an eminent Free Mason. He once told me how highly he respected our Order, and that he at one time had fully made up his mind to apply for admission into it; but, said he, "I feared I was too lazy to do all my

duty as I should wish to were I a member, and I have kept postponing my application." I told him it was by no means too late now. To which he laughingly replied, "Well, perhaps some day I may ask you to let me in."

You can form some opinion, by your own feelings when you received the news of the awful calamity, of the effect of it upon us here. My house is about a mile from the theatre where the assassination took place, and I did not hear of it untill daylight the next morning. The news almost killed me; I felt as if I should suffocate, and it was a considerable time before I could sufficiently collect my faculties to do my duty. My office, as you are aware, makes me almost a member of the President's household, and I was as familiar with him and his family as with my own, you can therefore judge of the shock that came upon me with the dreadful news, so utterly unexpected.

As soon as I could, I went to the house where the dying President lay. He was, of course, unconscious, and his couch was surrounded by his Cabinet Ministers, eminent physicians, and intimate personal friends. Solemnity and deep grief filled the room. Mrs. Lincoln and his son, Capt. Robert Lincoln were then in an adjoining room. I went in to see them; and say, if possible, some words of comfort. Mrs. L. was in the very depths of distress; the son bore it better, but at times could scarce control his grief. At the request of the family, at about 7 o'clock, I left in the President's carriage, after a female friend of Mrs. Lincoln, and, before I could return, the soul of the good President, and beloved man had passed away from earth, and left only the mortal tenement of clay behind.

Day before yesterday, the body lay all day in state in the East room, open to the public, and thousands passed mournfully along, and gave a last look to those beloved and mild features that they had so often seen in life glowing with animation and benevolence. Alas the change! and bitter tears were shed by many eyes unused to weep.

Yesterday the funeral took place. The services were most solemn and appropriate, and Pennsylvania avenue was entirely filled from Georgetown, to the Capitol, with the procession, while the sidewalks and house-tops, and every possible standing place were crowded with spectators. Ours was indeed a city of mourning. At about four o'clock P.M., the precious remains were deposited on a catafalco, erected by me, in the centre of the rotunda, which was heavily draped in mourning. The remains have been constantly attended by a guard of honor consisting of a Major General and his suit, and a detail of high naval officers.

At eight o'clock this morning the coffin was opened and the people admitted. It is now half past six, and from thirty to thirty-five thousand

people have looked upon that face to-day! Oh how he was beloved!

It has been to me one of the most solemn and impressive days of my life. The sight of that martyred man, surrounded by military and civil officers, with one officer at the head and another at the foot of the coffin, with the solemn and weeping crowd passing slowly and orderly along, have all combined to awaken in my own bosom as sad feelings as can well tenant the bosom of any mortal.

Tomorrow morning the remains will be borne away, and we shall have taken our last look at ABRAHAM LINCOLN *the good*, for well has he earned that blessed title.

It will probably be your fortune to look upon that face after it shall have arrived among the people he so much loved, and who almost adored him. Ere that time arrives, you will have received and read this letter. Think of me my brother, as you look at him, and may our souls mingle in brotherly affection while you gaze upon those features that I have so often mourned above, for I have been with his body much of the time since life departed from it, and even since I commenced this letter I have seen it several times.

With fraternal and affectionate regard,

B. B. FRENCH.

P.S.—I have written this letter only to convey to you an idea of the feeling here of affection and respect for our martyred President. I have said nothing of what is hoped or expected in the future, but all looks well. To us who trust in God, all will be well, "for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever."³

The last page of the May 15 *Trowel* contains a resolution on Lincoln's death passed by the Masonic lodge in Springfield to which Reynolds and his son belonged. All the signers of this resolution had known Lincoln personally. Orlin H. Miner had succeeded Jesse K. Dubois as State Auditor. J. R. Tyson was a Springfield lumber dealer. Turner R. King had been appointed register of the Springfield Land Office on Lincoln's recommendation. Pierson Roll had known Lincoln since he arrived at Sangamo Town in the spring of 1831 to build a flatboat for Denton Offutt. Thirty-one other lodges that indorsed the resolution are listed in this issue, and a hundred more in subsequent issues.

³ *Ibid.*, 76.

The members of Tyrian Lodge No. 333, A. F. & A. M., in regular communication convened, with members of Springfield Lodge No. 4, Central Lodge No. 71, and other worthy visiting brethren, deem this a suitable occasion to express their opinions as Masons and citizens in this momentous crisis; therefore,

Resolved, That as the immediate friends and neighbors of our late beloved and now revered President LINCOLN, we deeply and sorrowfully deplore his death.

Resolved, That the scrupulous honor and honesty of President LINCOLN in all his private relations, his faithfulness and kindness as a husband and father, his fairness and ability as a lawyer, his wisdom and public spirit as a citizen, and his patient, humane and honest career as a magistrate and statesman, furnish examples worthy of all praise and imitation.

Resolved, That we sincerely condole with the bereaved widow and fatherless children in their terrible and irreparable loss.

Resolved, That the decision of President LINCOLN to postpone his application for the honors of Masonry, lest his motives should be misconstrued, is in the highest degree honorable to his memory.

Resolved, That the murderer of President LINCOLN, and the assassin of Secretary SEWARD, should be hunted with unceasing vigilance and vigor *until found*, and be brought to trial, judgment and punishment. . .

O. H. MINER, W.M.	J. R. TYSON,
H. G. REYNOLDS,	T. R. KING,
JESSE K. DUBOIS,	PIERSON ROLL,

JOHN C. REYNOLDS, Secretary.

*Committee.*⁴

The June, 1865 *Trowel* had several poems about Lincoln and a long appeal by Newton Bateman, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to schools and colleges in Illinois for contributions to the National Lincoln Monument Association. Lodges and individuals also contributed \$450 to this fund through the *Trowel* before the end of 1865.

THREE LINCOLN BOOKLETS

Lincoln's Springfield, written by Harry E. Pratt while he was executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Associa-

⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

tion and published by the Association in 1938, has now been revised by him in a new edition copyrighted by the Illinois State Historical Society. This thirty-two page pocket-size booklet contains illustrations and brief descriptions of Lincoln in Springfield, the Lincoln Home, old Statehouse (now Sangamon County Courthouse), Lincoln's law offices, C. M. Smith store (where Lincoln wrote his first inaugural), Governor's Mansion, Great Western station (where Lincoln bade farewell to Springfield), Benjamin S. Edwards home, Henry Horner-Lincoln Room (Illinois State Historical Library), Lincoln Tomb and Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden, with locations of ten other Lincoln sites in Springfield. Visitors to the capital will find *Lincoln's Springfield* a convenient guide to the Lincoln shrines, and it will also be of interest to Lincolnians everywhere. These booklets are available to convention and school groups at cost upon request to the Historical Society.

The Great Debates is the story of Lincoln and Douglas in the campaign of 1858, by State Historian Pratt, reprinted by the Historical Library from the *Illinois Blue Book 1953-1954* (issued 1955). This thirty-two page booklet (indexed) traces the travels of both candidates through the campaign, in which Lincoln made more than sixty speeches and Douglas claimed 130. Twenty-two illustrations and maps showing the towns visited by each candidate and the election results by counties add to the attractiveness of this first complete treatment of the campaign. Copies of *The Great Debates* are available without charge on request to the Historical Library or Society.

Lincoln's Inner Circle, a thirty-two page pictorial brochure published by the Historical Society, will be sent to those who suggest prospective members of that organization. The illustrations, selected from the gravure frontispieces to the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, include photographs of Lincoln, his family, his vice-presidents and cabinet members, and buildings with which he was associated. The text is by Dr. Pratt.

GETTYSBURG ADDRESS PLAQUE MOVED

The large bronze plaque of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in Lincoln Hall at the University of Illinois has been moved from the lobby floor to a panel in the south wall. Although a University tradition prohibited walking on the plaque, the wear which it had received since the opening of the building in 1911 necessitated its removal for preservation.

LINCOLN STATUE CONTEST WINNERS

Lloyd Ostendorf, artist and photographer of Dayton, Ohio, was awarded \$500 as first prize winner in the contest for a design for a statue of Abraham Lincoln to be erected in Lincoln Square, at the intersection of Lincoln, Lawrence and Western avenues, Chicago. Ostendorf's design is a standing figure of a beardless Lincoln, as he appeared when he campaigned and practiced law in Chicago, mounted on a circular stone pedestal on which are engraved the places and dates of his major Chicago speeches. His hat is in his left hand and there is a sheaf of papers under his arm, while his right hand is outstretched as if addressing an audience.

Sponsors of the contest were the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Commission, appointed by Governor William G. Stratton following its creation by the Sixty-eighth General Assembly, composed of Leo A. Lerner, Chicago newspaper publisher, State Senator Peter J. Miller and State Representative William E. Pollack; and the Lincoln Square Chamber of Commerce. Raider E. Nelson, Chicago, received the \$250 award for second place, and Avard Fairbanks, Salt Lake City, sculptor of the New Salem Lincoln; E. E. Burr, Evanston; the firm of Ekroth, Mortorano & Ekroth, Chicago; Carl Tolpo, Frankfort, Illinois; and Richard Schimon, Chicago, each received \$50. There were nearly a hundred entries.

Michael S. Lerner, publisher and member of the Civil War Round Table of Chicago, was chairman of the judging

committee, assisted by Lloyd Miller, Lincoln collector and Civil War expert; Ralph G. Newman, proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Chicago; Harry E. Pratt, Illinois state historian; and Harry Spellbrink, president of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago.

A \$35,000 appropriation for the statue was passed by the Sixty-ninth General Assembly and signed by the Governor.

PLAQUE AT LIBRARY ENTRANCE

A bronze plaque containing Lincoln's views on labor has been hung outside the entrance to the Illinois State Historical Library in the Centennial Building, Springfield. This plaque was made at the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac for the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago in 1933-1934. After the Exposition closed the plaque was sent to the governor's office in Springfield. This spring L. C. Stephenson, retired manager of the foundry at Pontiac, wrote Governor William G. Stratton that on a recent visit to the capitol he had seen the plaque in a storeroom off the governor's office. It was found, cleaned and placed in its present position.

Mr. Stephenson retired in 1953 after having been connected with the foundry since 1907 except for the years 1913-1921.

The text of the plaque is taken from Lincoln's reply on March 21, 1864, to a committee of the New York Workingmen's Democratic Republican Association, who had gone to Washington to advise the President that the Association had elected him an honorary member. It reads:

. . . The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, [and] tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable, is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement

to independence [industry] and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself; thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

FILMS DISTRIBUTED BY STATE

Two thirty-minute color films—one depicting Abraham Lincoln's life in New Salem and Springfield, the other the state in general—are distributed to hundreds of schools, clubs and social organizations throughout the country each year by the film library of the Division of Department Reports, Capitol Building, Springfield, Illinois.

The first, "Lincoln in Illinois," was seen during 1954 by an estimated 129,619 people at 2,093 schools and clubs, and by an estimated television audience of 6,161,944 over 40 stations.

The second, "Illinois—Land of Lincoln," is divided into three sections: the Lincoln shrines; Illinois, the inland empire; and the Illinois State Fair, the showplace of Illinois agriculture. Twenty-five prints of this film were sent to 961 schools and clubs in 1954, and viewed by 95,215 persons. It was also shown on 18 television stations with an estimated 2,065,000 viewers.

LINCOLN PLAYED EUCHRE

That Lincoln played an entertainingly conversational game of euchre is shown by this excerpt from a letter written by Mary Hedges Hubbard who was visiting her uncle Joel A. Matteson (governor of Illinois, 1853-1857) at the time: "We went to a euchre party at Mrs. [O. M.] Sheldons a few days since. I[t] was very pleasant. I played at the same table that Mr. Lincoln did. He is the most amusing man I ever saw almost. He kept us laughing all the time." (Mary Hedges Hubbard to her sister Ellen Sterling Hubbard, Spring-

field, August 28, 1859; original in New-York Historical Society.)

MEMORIAL GARDEN ACTIVITIES

The garden clubs of Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana and Oklahoma donated benches to the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden at the recent convention of the National Council of State Garden Clubs in Chicago. Benches had previously been presented by the garden clubs of Florida, Illinois, Montana, New Jersey and Texas. Each is inscribed with a Lincoln quotation and the name of the donor state. Two fountains were also pledged to the Garden by individual garden clubs.

Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen will open her Lee County estate, "Hazelwood," on July 10 for her yearly benefit for the Memorial Garden.

All officers and directors of the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden Foundation were re-elected at a Springfield meeting May 20-21: Mrs. T. J. Knudson, Springfield, president; Mrs. Raymond Knotts, Berwyn, vice-president; Mrs. H. R. Armbruster, Springfield, secretary; Thomas L. Cochran, Springfield, treasurer; Mrs. Miles Gray, Miss Catherine Zeller and Dr. Harry E. Pratt, all of Springfield, Mrs. Samuel James Campbell, Mt. Carroll, Mrs. L. T. Warren, Elmhurst and Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen, Chicago, directors. Mrs. Harry Grafmiller of Springfield was added to the board of directors.

ILLINOIS IN 1954

COMPILED BY JAMES N. ADAMS

JANUARY

- Jan. 1 Governor and Mrs. William G. Stratton are hosts at a New Year's reception in the redecorated and air-conditioned Governor's Mansion.
- Jan. 10 Henry P. Rusk, 69, dean emeritus of the College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois, dies.
- Jan. 12 New well at Carthage relieves the water shortage there. Severe water shortages in Christian County force the temporary closing of Stonington schools; Kincaid contracts with the Peabody Coal Company for use of water from the company's lake.
- Jan. 14 Mrs. Minnie Smith Johnson, 98, last surviving niece of Mary Todd Lincoln, dies in Springfield.
- The Rt. Rev. Raymond P. Hillinger is installed as the new Catholic bishop of Rockford.
- Jan. 20 University of Illinois trustees name Lloyd Morey, acting president since July, as president until Sept. 1. In March this term is extended to Sept. 1, 1955.
- Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company of Chicago begins celebration of its hundredth anniversary year.
- Jan. 24 Dr. Harold H. Nelson, 77, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago and former director of the University's Oriental Institute, dies.
- Jan. 31 Richard W. Jones, 87, dean of southern Illinois publishers, dies. He edited and published the *Johnston City Progress* from 1896 until his retirement in 1951.

FEBRUARY

- Feb. 1 Rear Admiral Francis P. Old, commandant of the Ninth Naval District since July, 1951, resigns to become executive director of the

Illinois Toll Road Commission. He is succeeded by Rear Admiral Richard P. Glass.

- Feb. 3 President Celal Bayar of Turkey arrives in Chicago for a three-day visit.
- Feb. 5 Peoria and Park Forest are given the "All-American City" award by *Look* magazine and the National Municipal League.
- Carl E. Wickman, 66, of Wilmette, founder of the Greyhound Bus Lines, dies.
- Feb. 6 Fire at Zion does over a million dollars damage.
- The Rev. Randall A. Carter, 78, senior bishop of the Colored Methodist Church, dies in Chicago. He had been a bishop since 1914. His district included Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and parts of Indiana and Missouri.
- Feb. 7 Oscar Matthew ("Battling") Nelson, 62, former lightweight boxing champion, dies in Chicago. He had resided at Hegewisch since 1917.
- Feb. 10 Illinois Wesleyan University acquires title to 14,619 acres of land in the Rio Grande valley, worth an estimated \$6,500,000.
- Rear Admiral John Downes, 74, former commandant of the Ninth Naval District and of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, and later head of the Illinois State Service Recognition Board, dies in Chicago.
- Feb. 11 Contamination of the Kaskaskia River by the new National Petro-Chemicals Company plant near Tuscola, which has already affected the Shelbyville water supply, has nearly reached Vandalia. Besides affecting the taste of the water, this pollution kills fish, muskrats and turtles. With the aid of the Department of Public Health the company by November is treating its wastes so that contamination is avoided.
- The Rt. Rev. Gerald Francis Burrill is installed as Chicago's eighth Protestant Episcopal bishop.
- Feb. 12 The 145th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln is observed. Representatives in exile of Russia's satellite countries sound the Liberty Bell during a broadcast from Philadelphia, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans join for the first time in Washington ceremonies. Among observances at Springfield are ceremonies at the Tomb by the American Legion, headed by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, and the Sangamon County Bar Association's annual walk from the old Statehouse to the Tomb.

- Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine, 87, Chicago philanthropist, daughter of Cyrus Hall McCormick and daughter-in law of James G. Blaine, dies.
- Feb. 15 Governor Stratton breaks ground for the new Illinois State Office Building.
- Feb. 27 The Central Illinois Light Company of Springfield celebrates the hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of its predecessor, the Springfield Gas Light Company.

MARCH

- Mar. 2 Oscar Chase Hayward, 81, vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society and director of its fund-raising drive for its fiftieth anniversary in 1949, dies at his Winnetka home. Mr. Hayward, president of the Williams-Hayward Varnish Company of Summit, was also a director of the Illinois Society of Sons of the American Revolution, governor of the Illinois Society of Colonial Wars, and a director of the Ohio State Historical Society.
- Mar. 4 J. Earnest Wilkins of Chicago, former president of the Cook County Bar Association, is nominated assistant secretary of labor. He is the first Negro to hold a comparable post in the federal government.
- Mar. 12 Windstorm does great damage in Sangamon, Menard and Logan counties.
- Mar. 16 The federal government seizes the property of Galesburg Safety Route, Inc., for non-payment of taxes. This leaves the city without bus service until a subsidiary of Kewanee City Bus Lines begins operation on March 25.
- Mar. 17 George H. Baird, 72, mayor of Rushville for nine terms, dies in Jacksonville.
- Mar. 20 Mount Vernon High School wins its fourth state basketball championship. Du Sable High School of Chicago is defeated in the final game for its first loss of the season.
- Mar. 25 Tornado causes \$200,000 damage at Taylorville.
- Mar. 29 Leonard G. Applequist of Aurora, former Illinois department commander of the American Legion, dies at the age of 62.
- In a surprise move Phil Cavaretta is fired as manager of the Chicago Cubs during spring training. He is signed by the Chicago White Sox as player and coach. Stanley Hack, former star Cub third-baseman, becomes the new manager of the team.

- Mar. 30 The Polish consulate general in Chicago, one of the last of an Iron Curtain country outside of Washington, is closed by order of the State Department.

APRIL

- Apr. 2 Chicago Musical College, founded and directed by Rudolph Ganz, becomes a department of Roosevelt University.
- Apr. 5 The Treasury Department announces that Illinois led all the states in purchases of Series E and H defense bonds during February.
- Apr. 6 Strike on the Chicago & Illinois Midland Railway idles the Peabody Coal Company's Christian County mines. The strike is settled April 12.
- Apr. 7 Tornado in Kankakee County kills one woman and does several hundred thousand dollars damage.
- Apr. 13 In statewide primary elections candidates are nominated to be voted on in November.
- Apr. 30 The first producing well in a new oil field near Edinburg, 18 miles southeast of Springfield, comes in.

MAY

- May 4 Earl Owen Fay, 68, former custodian of the Lincoln Tomb, dies at DeKalb. He was the son of Herbert Wells Fay, Tomb custodian 1921-1949.
- May 7 Robert Petrone, state representative 1931-1951, dies in Chicago.
- May 14 Thirty-seven Junior Historians of the Year receive awards from Governor Stratton at Springfield.
- May 21 Willard Widenberg of DeKalb, named United States Teacher of the Year, and his family are honored by President Eisenhower.
- May 22 Mississippi River bridge at Cairo is freed from tolls. This is the high point in the city's annual Magnolia Festival, attended this year by the Illinois State Historical Society as part of its two-day meeting which began on May 21 at Carbondale.
- May 25 The Army leases sites in Chicago, including one in Jackson Park, for Nike (guided missile) experiments.
- May 29 Tornadoic winds hit several towns in Woodford County.
- May 30 The Paul F. Beich Company, Bloomington candy manufacturer, celebrates its centennial.
- Beardstown celebrates its one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary.

JUNE

- June 1 Windstorm causes over \$500,000 damage in Bloomington and Normal.
- June 3 Mrs. Theodore S. Chapman of Jerseyville is elected president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. On June 8 she is honored in civic ceremonies at her home town.
- June 6 Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court gives the commencement address at MacMurray College and receives an honorary degree.
- June 7 Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia arrives in Chicago for a twenty-four-hour visit.
- June 10 Will Rossiter, 87, Chicago music publisher since 1890 and composer of many hit songs, dies.
- June 14 Robert E. Barrett, 45, state director of insurance, dies at his Chicago home. On August 30 Justin T. McCarthy of Chicago is appointed to succeed him.
- At Rockford College's one hundredth commencement the appointment of Dr. Leland H. Carlson, of the history faculty at Northwestern University, as the college's new president, is announced. Dr. Carlson assumes the post Sept. 1, succeeding Mary Ashby Cheek who retires after serving sixteen years.
- Ray Simkins, state senator 1934-1937 and mayor of Maquon for several terms, dies at the age of 75.
- June 16 City Council approves fluoridation of Chicago's water.
- June 18 Chicago Stockyards plant of Armour & Company suffers a half-million-dollar fire.
- June 19 United States Senator Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming commits suicide in Washington at the age of 61. He was born in Isabel, Illinois, and lived in Atlanta during his boyhood.
- June 21 Governor Stratton accepts on behalf of the State of Illinois the Avarad Fairbanks statue of Abraham Lincoln, presented by the Sons of Utah Pioneers, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., president and donor, in ceremonies at New Salem State Park. That night the Lincoln play, "Prologue to Glory" by Abrams and Bentkover, is presented at Kelso Hollow Theater. This play runs until Aug. 12, every night except Monday. On Monday nights the same group presents "Spoon River Speaks," based on writings of Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay.
- June 25 Former King Peter II of Yugoslavia arrives in Chicago for a four-day visit.

- June 26 The former German submarine *U-505* reaches Chicago and is turned over to Mayor Kennelly, representing the city. It is installed as a permanent exhibit at the Museum of Science and Industry on Sept. 25.
- June 27 The Rev. John Timothy Stone, pastor of Chicago's Fourth Presbyterian Church from 1909 to 1930 and since pastor emeritus, dies at the age of 85. He was in charge of religious work at Camp Grant during World War I, and president of McCormick Theological Seminary from 1928 to 1940.
- June 30 In the Chicago area the sun is ninety per cent eclipsed—a condition which will not recur until 2017.

JULY

- July 2 Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, dermatologist on the medical faculty of Northwestern University, is awarded the Spingarn Medal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- July 3 Winds of tornadic force hit Virginia, Tallula, Petersburg and Chandlerville.
- July 11 A marker honoring Benjamin Lundy, abolitionist publisher, is dedicated at the entrance to Starved Rock State Park by the La Salle County Historical Society.
- July 12 Greene County's centennial fair is opened with a parade and other ceremonies.
- July 14 During a prolonged heat wave Springfield's temperature reaches 113.8 degrees—highest ever recorded in the city. The summer as a whole is the hottest since 1936.
- Albert John Pixley, 75, co-founder of the Pixley & Ehlers restaurant chain, dies in River Forest.
- July 21 Louis G. Berman, 72, state representative since 1933, dies in Chicago.
- July 22 Helen H. Hazard, 59, superintendent of the Dwight reformatory 1930-1943 and 1946-1949, dies in Rock Island.
- July 25 Mary M. Bartelme, 88, Chicago's first woman judge, famous for her Juvenile Court work, dies in California.
- July 29 Countess Felicite Cenci Bolognetti, 80, daughter of Richard J. Oglesby, three times elected governor of Illinois, dies in Rome.
- July 31 Donald T. Forsythe, of Carthage, editor of the *Hancock County Journal*, completes a year's term as president of Kiwanis International.

AUGUST

- Aug. 3 Geneviève de Galard Terraube, "the angel of Dien Bien Phu," is the honored guest of Chicago for three days
- Aug. 4 President Syngman Rhee of South Korea visits Chicago.
- Aug. 6 Merle J. Trees, 71, chairman of the board of Chicago Bridge & Iron Company and former trustee of the University of Illinois, dies in Chicago.
- Aug. 7 Illinois Wesleyan University buys hotels in Hollywood and Sacramento, California, for approximately ten million dollars.
- Aug. 11 Howard L. Doyle, 60, state representative 1931-1935 and United States district attorney for the Southern District of Illinois 1935-1952, dies in Decatur.
- Aug. 13 The tombstone of Edward Baker Lincoln (1846-1850), son of Abraham Lincoln, is discovered in Oak Ridge Cemetery where it had lain face downward for nearly a century.
- The 102d Illinois State Fair opens for ten days.
- Aug. 15 The World Council of Churches meets in Evanston. Its sessions continue to the end of the month.
- Aug. 17 Lew Sarett, 66, poet and professor emeritus of public speaking at Northwestern University, dies in Florida. He was on the Northwestern faculty from 1920 to 1953.
- Aug. 18 Directors of the Illinois Terminal Railroad accept, subject to approval by the Illinois Commerce Commission, a \$20,000,000 offer for the road by the Baltimore & Ohio, Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, Gulf, Mobile & Ohio, Illinois Central, Litchfield & Madison, St. Louis & San Francisco, and Wabash railroads acting jointly.
- Heavy windstorm does much damage in Springfield.
- Aug. 19 In a one-day flying trip to Illinois, President Eisenhower lays a wreath on the Lincoln Tomb, speaks at the State Fair in Springfield and to the World Council of Churches in Evanston, and receives an honorary LL.D. degree from Northwestern University. He is the only President since Rutherford B. Hayes to speak at the Fair while in office.
- Chief Justice Earl Warren dedicates the new American Bar Center at the University of Chicago, climaxing the national convention of the American Bar Association.
- Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* opens for the ninth consecutive season at New Salem State Park—the first of eight performances.

SEPTEMBER

- Sept. 1 Arthur E. Abney of Springfield succeeds Joseph K. McLaughlin as director of the Illinois Department of Aeronautics.
- Underground parking garage in Grant Park, Chicago, is opened 79 days ahead of schedule. It has a capacity of 2,359 automobiles.
- La Grange opens a five-day celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary.
- Sept. 2 Governor Stratton names a sixteen-member commission to study ways and means to provide sufficient college facilities in Illinois. Headed by Lenox R. Lohr, the commission includes the presidents of the University of Illinois, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Southern Illinois University, Illinois College and DePaul University.
- The Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, resigns as director general of the Catholic Youth Organization, which he founded in 1930. It is announced that the Sheil School for Social Studies and radio station WFJL, also founded by Bishop Sheil, will close on Jan. 22, 1955. Monsignor Edward J. Kelly is named as the new director general of the C.Y.O.
- Sept. 3 President Eisenhower vetoes a bill which would have authorized increased water diversion from Lake Michigan at Chicago.
- Kent E. Keller, 87, state senator 1916-1920 and congressman 1930-1940, dies at his home in Ava.
- Sept. 7 Ceremonies at the Chicago Union Stockyards mark the arrival of the one billionth animal received there.
- Sept. 8 Samuel Cardinal Stritch officiates at a Marian Year celebration at Soldier Field, Chicago, attended by 260,000.
- Chauncey McCormick, 69, member of the Illinois Toll Road Commission, president of the Chicago Art Institute, and connected with many other cultural and philanthropic enterprises, dies at Bar Harbor, Maine.
- Sept. 9 The International College of Surgeons dedicates its Hall of Fame in Chicago.
- Sept. 14 Martin Marion, who won the title of "Mr. Shortstop" during his playing days, replaces Paul Richards as manager of the Chicago White Sox.
- Sept. 15 Dr. Willard F. Libby, professor at the University of Chicago's Institute of Nuclear Studies, is named to the Atomic Energy Commission.

- Eugene J. Czachorski of Chicago is named chairman of the Illinois Youth Commission, succeeding Lee J. Daniels.
- Sept. 17 Two-day national plowing contest and conservation demonstration begins near Olney. The principal speaker is Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.
- Sept. 22 Homer Hall, 84, former McLean County judge and congressman 1926-1930, dies in Bloomington.
- Sept. 25 Lieutenant General George P. Ferry, 59, former commander of the Illinois National Guard and infantry commander on Guadalcanal in World War II, dies.
- Sept. 30 Major General Hobart Raymond Gay, a Rockport native who served in both World Wars and in Korea, becomes commanding general of the Fifth Army with headquarters in Chicago.

OCTOBER

- Oct. 1 Justice William J. Fulton announces his retirement from the Illinois Supreme Court, effective November 1. In a special election held Feb. 28, 1955, Charles H. Davis of Rockford is elected as his successor.
- Rear Admiral Richard P. Glass, commandant of the Ninth Naval District, retires from service.
- Oct. 6 Pasteur Park, honoring Louis Pasteur and containing a statue of him, is dedicated in Chicago. French consul general Roger LaBruy is the principal speaker.
- Oct. 8 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day annual meeting at Vandalia.
- The Chicago Loop's first municipal parking garage opens.
- Oct. 9 Appellate Judge John M. Tuohy, 61, dies at his home near Dundee.
- Oct. 10 A record seven-inch rainfall within twenty-four hours in Chicago renders the Union Station unusable for two days. The *Daily News* is forced to use facilities of the *Tribune* and *Herald-American* when its pressroom is flooded and its paper stock watersoaked. The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry estimates damage to the establishments of its members at from six to twenty-five million dollars; besides this, many low-lying homes in the city and suburbs are inundated. In order to decrease the magnitude of the catastrophe, the Chicago River's flow is reversed and for the first time in half a century it flows in its original direction—into Lake Michigan.

- Oct. 12 The McLean County Medical Society celebrates its centennial by the publication of a historical booklet and ceremonies at Bloomington.
- Oct. 14 Arnold R. Baar, 63, of Winnetka, judge of the United States Tax Court and former president of the American Technical Society, dies.
- Oct. 18 Peoria celebrates the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's famous speech in reply to Douglas, of the city's street lighting by gas, and of rail service on the Rock Island Railroad.
- Oct. 20 Homer J. Livingston, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, is elected president of the American Bankers Association.
- Oct. 23 President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia arrives in Chicago for a three-day visit. On Oct. 24 he visits Springfield, laying a wreath at the Lincoln Tomb and being entertained at the Governor's Mansion.
- Oct. 24 Albert B. Dick, Jr., 60, former mayor of Lake Forest and chairman of the board of the company founded by his father, dies.
- Oct. 28 Ernest Hemingway, native of Oak Park, is awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.
- Oct. 29 Louis Bromfield addresses the National Trust for Historic Preservation at the Casino Club in Chicago. On Oct. 30 and 31 the members visit Galena.
- Oct. 30 The *Chicago Law Bulletin* observes its centennial.

NOVEMBER

- Nov. 1 Chicago has its first resident opera season since 1946 as the "Lyric Theater of Chicago" opens a twenty-day series of performances.
- Nov. 2 In the general election voters of Illinois approve legislative reapportionment, the disposal of Illinois and Michigan Canal lands, and a four-year term for state treasurer (to begin in 1958). Paul H. Douglas (Dem.) is re-elected United States senator, Vernon L. Nickell (Rep.) re-elected superintendent of public instruction, and former State Treasurer Warren E. Wright (Rep.) is elected to another term in that position—defeating, respectively, Joseph T. Meek, Mark Peterman and David F. Mallett.
- Nov. 8 Galena celebrates the centennial of the arrival of its first railroad train and of the opening of the DeSoto House.
- Nov. 12 Fred B. Snite, Jr., 44, of Chicago, who had lived in an iron lung for eighteen years, dies.

- Nov. 15 An Illinois Commerce Commission order effective today allows the New York Central to discontinue fourteen commuter trains between Chicago and Chesterton, Indiana.
- Nov. 16 The last steel girder—forty-one floors up—is put into place on the new Prudential Insurance Company Building in Chicago, built over the Illinois Central tracks. The building, which will have a million square feet of floor space, is the first skyscraper erected in the Loop area since 1934. Completion is scheduled for the fall of 1955.
- Joshua D'Esposito, 76, engineer in charge of building many noted structures in Chicago, including the Union Station, the subway, and the skyride at the Century of Progress, dies.
- Nov. 18 The act creating the Chicago Regional Port District is upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court.
- Nov. 21 Franklin S. Catlin, 78, state representative 1911-1915, dies in Chicago.
- Nov. 28 Physicist Enrico Fermi, 53, of the University of Chicago, a former winner of the Nobel Prize, dies. On Nov. 17 he had been awarded the Atomic Energy Commission's first special award of \$25,000 for his work in nuclear fission.
- Dr. Wiley Lin Hurie, 69, of Rock Creek, Menard County, president of the College of the Ozarks (Clarksville, Arkansas) 1923-1949, dies.
- Nov. 29 Marshall Field & Company's stores in Chicago and suburbs sell \$1,000,000 worth of merchandise in one day—the first time any single firm outside New York City has done so.

DECEMBER

- Dec. 1 Sol W. Butler, professional football player and world's champion broad jumper 1912-1923, dies in Chicago.
- Dec. 2 Mrs. Hazel A. McCaskrin, 63, of Rock Island, state representative 1947-1948 and 1951-1954, is killed in an automobile accident.
- Dec. 4 David Dodds Henry, executive vice-chancellor of New York University, is chosen president of the University of Illinois, to take office on Sept. 1, 1955.
- Governor Stratton is elected chairman of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission.
- Dec. 7 The Illinois Toll Road Commission announces that there is to be a toll road around Chicago from Indiana to Wisconsin, a connection from this route to Aurora, and a road extending from the North-

west expressway in Chicago to Rockford and crossing the belt-line road near O'Hare Airport. A syndicate of banks and investment houses declares itself ready to buy the bonds so that construction may start immediately after disposal of pending litigation.

Dec. 8 John D. Biggs, 68, of Greenville, chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission 1941-1951, dies.

——— Dr. Edmund B. Montgomery, 96, oldest practicing physician in the United States, dies. A former president and secretary of the Illinois State Medical Society, Dr. Montgomery had practiced in Quincy for 76 years.

——— Charles J. Jenkins, 57, representative of the Third District in the Illinois House of Representatives since 1930 and the only Negro to head a major committee of that body, dies in Chicago.

Dec. 9 Chicago City Council approves an \$88,000,000 bond issue to construct the Calumet Skyway. This elevated highway will extend from 66th and State streets to the Indiana line at Indianapolis Boulevard and 106th Street, where it will join the Indiana Turnpike and become part of the turnpike system reaching from Chicago to Maine.

——— William A. Wieboldt, 97, founder of the department store chain bearing his name, dies in Chicago.

Dec. 10 Professor Ferdinand Schevill, 86, historian and author of six major books, dies in Tucson, Arizona. He was one of the original members of the University of Chicago faculty, retiring to emeritus status in 1935.

Dec. 11 Edwin Johnston, 83, of Pittsfield, senior counselor of the Illinois State Bar Association and state representative 1901-1903, dies.

Dec. 12 Mrs. Mollie Netcher Newbury, 87, widow of the founder of the Boston Store, Chicago, and owner of it from her husband's death till its sale in 1946, dies.

——— The Abraham Lincoln Centre of Chicago, founded by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, begins a two-month observance of its semicentennial.

Dec. 16 Charles B. Shuman of Sullivan, president of the Illinois Agricultural Association, is chosen president of the American Farm Bureau Federation to succeed Allan B. Kline of Western Springs.

——— The Rev. Dr. Albert W. Palmer, 75, head of the Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational) 1930-1946, dies in California.

Dec. 17 James M. Whalen, 67, clerk of the Appellate Court, dies in Chicago. He was formerly Cook County civil service commissioner and trustee of the Sanitary District.

- Dec. 19 Byron S. Harvey, Sr., 78, chairman of the Fred Harvey restaurant and hotel chain founded by his father, dies in Chicago.
- Dec. 21 John L. McConaughy of Hinsdale, 63, president of the Illinois Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, dies.
- Dec. 29 William M. Burton, 89, inventor of the gasoline-cracking process in 1913 and president of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) 1918-1927, dies. He received the American Petroleum Institute's gold medal for distinguished achievement in 1949. He lived in Chicago until his retirement. He died in Miami, Florida.
- Dec. 31 The first two and a half miles of the Congress Street expressway in Chicago's western suburbs is opened to traffic.
- An open season with little bad weather has enabled Illinois to complete more road construction in 1954 than in any previous year. U. S. Route 66, the main Chicago-St. Louis highway, is now four lanes wide from Chenoa to Mt. Olive except for the Springfield bypass.
- Twenty-three deaths and 1,057 injuries during 1954 are an all-time low in mining accidents for the state. Although the state's production of 40,928,174 tons was the lowest since 1938, Peabody Coal Company's Mine No. 10 near Taylorville produced 2,645,923 tons to be the largest producer in the United States. The production of Peabody No. 17 near Pana ranked second in the state and sixth in the nation.
- With an oil production of 66,341,000 barrels—an increase of twelve per cent over 1953—Illinois ranked eighth in the nation during 1954. During the year 3,254 new wells were drilled and twenty-six new pools discovered.

ILLINOIS CITY AND TOWN CENTENNIALS, 1954

Amboy, Aug. 7-9; Anna, July 2-5; Bethalto, Sept. 3-6; Buda, July 3-5; Buffalo, May 1; Bushnell, Aug. 26-29; Chebanse, July 3-5; Chenoa, Aug. 1-8; Dawson, July 24; Dwight, Aug. 14-22; Effingham, May 14-16; El Paso, Aug. 22-28; Elwood, Aug. 19-22; Flora, July 4-9; Galva, July 28-Aug. 1; Gardner, July 11-18; Hamilton, Aug. 13-15; Kewanee, July 15-18; Kirkwood, Aug. 6-7; Lansing, Aug. 14-21; Lawndale, June 26-27; Maroa, Sept. 23-25; Mound City, June 20-27; Niantic, July 16-17; Odell, Sept. 5-12; O'Fallon, Aug. 25-29; Onarga, July 2-5; Oneida, Aug. 29-Sept. 1; Park Ridge, Oct. 5; Pawnee, June 17-19; Plano, June 27; Rantoul, Aug. 1-7; Summerfield, ———; Sumner, July 2-5; Toledo, Oct. 6-9; Towanda, Sept. 18-19; Wapella, Aug. 27-29; Winnebago, July 3-5; Woodstock, Aug. 5-8.



BOOK REVIEWS

Abraham Lincoln and Coles County, Illinois. By Charles H. Coleman. (Scarecrow Press: New Brunswick, N. J., 1955. Pp. 268. \$5.00.)

This valuable source book is based on many years of assiduous research by Dr. Coleman, professor of history at Eastern Illinois State College in the heart of the county of which he writes. Lincoln passed through Coles County when he came to Illinois with his family in 1830, and his parents lived there from 1831 until their deaths. Although Coles was never a part of the Eighth Circuit, Lincoln practiced there, especially in the 1840's, and defended slaveowner Robert Matson in the circuit court at Charleston.

The fourth of the seven joint debates with Douglas was held in Charleston on September 18, 1858. Lincoln shied away from advocating Negro equality, declaring that he was not, nor ever had been "in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races . . . I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office."

Dr. Coleman relates interestingly the story of President-elect Lincoln's visit with his stepmother at Goose Nest Prairie, eight miles south of Charleston, twelve days before he left for Washington in 1861. Lincoln's last Coles County contact was in relation to the prisoners from the Charleston riot (about which this *Journal* published Dr. Coleman's definitive account in March, 1940, pp. 7-56).

The book has genealogical tables clarifying the relationship of the Lincoln, Hanks and Hall families; a chronology of events involving the families, and a good index.

H. E. P.

Lincoln & the Party Divided. By William Frank Zornow. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1954. Pp. 264. \$4.00.)

This is the most complete study yet made of the re-election of Lincoln in 1864. Zornow has expanded on his doctoral dissertation and distilled the essentials from sixteen regional studies he has published in historical journals in the last six years.

It was Lincoln's hold on the affections of the people, not the politicians, that won him the nomination and election in 1864. In July and August Lincoln and his advisers were very pessimistic concerning the President's chance for re-election. The war was unpopular and unwon until Sherman took Atlanta, Farragut moved into Mobile, and Sheridan routed Early at Cedar Creek in September. These victories and the realization that Grant's war of attrition was undermining the Confederacy stopped the series of conferences, newspaper campaigns and proposed conventions to nominate a new Republican candidate. The nomination by the Democratic convention in August of General McClellan—a Unionist who favored the prosecution of the war—on a platform calling for peace divided Lincoln's opponents as in 1860. The nomination of John C. Frémont by the abolitionists served only to divide further the anti-Lincoln forces, nurse the general's anger against the President, dilate Jessie Benton Frémont's ambition for her husband, and please the German voters.

The electoral vote of 212 for Lincoln to 21 for McClellan was gratifying, but his popular vote disappointed his friends. Although he received 55.08 per cent of the vote cast, a few thousand votes in certain key states would have thrown the election to McClellan.

The author is at his best in tracing the efforts of Salmon P. Chase to snatch the nomination from Lincoln while a member of the cabinet. His great desire to become President dulled Chase's sense of what was right.

The footnotes are in the right place, at the foot of the page; there is a good bibliography and an adequate index.

H. E. P.

Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase. Edited by David Donald. (Longmans, Green and Company, Inc.: New York, 1954. Pp. 342. \$6.50.)

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1902) contained the diary of Salmon P. Chase, July 21-October 10, 1862. There were no annotations, footnotes or index. These months and thirteen and a half more scattered from December 9, 1861 to May 1, 1865 have been edited in one volume by David Donald, associate professor of history at Columbia Uni-

versity. The forty-five-page introduction is an excellent study of Chase's character, and each section of the diary is prefaced by a summary of the contemporary events of the Civil War. The friends and callers whom Chase mentions are identified in the fifty-eight pages of notes.

Dull as is most of the diary, Civil War students regret that it covers only one-third of Lincoln's presidency. Chase's acquaintance in Illinois was limited—but there are references to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, Generals Ulysses S. Grant and John A. McClernand, and Governor Richard Yates.

Unfortunately the publishers unduly limited the number of index pages and relegated the footnotes to the back of the book, thus destroying much of its value as a source of reference.

H. E. P.

Cameron for Lincoln's Cabinet. By Elwin L. Page. (Boston University Press: Boston, 1954. Pp. 31. \$1.50.)

Judge Page presents a detailed account of the hauling and pulling of Simon Cameron's friends and enemies on the subject of his appointment as Secretary of War. Cameron went to Springfield at the close of 1860 for a conference with Lincoln. He left with a cabinet appointment which Lincoln sought unsuccessfully to revoke in a letter to him on January 3, 1861.

Page's version is based largely on the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers of Abraham Lincoln and leaves out of account Cameron's own papers in the Library of Congress. Further light will be thrown on this teapot-tempest of 1860-1861 politics when the material in the papers of David Davis is published in his biography now being prepared by Willard L. King of Chicago.

H. E. P.

Abraham Lincoln "From Cabin to Capitol." By Elbert R. Moses. (College Publishing Co.: Daytona Beach, Florida, 1955. Pp. 139. \$2.95.)

Here is a maximum of misinformation in a minimum of space. If the author, as alleged, has "read and meditated and selected" for forty years there is little evidence of it in his book. Inaccurate biographical sketches, misspelled names, misquoted letters and misdated events shatter the reader's confidence. The Civil War is entirely ignored except for First Bull Run and Gettysburg.

There is a total lack of balance—two pages are devoted to Lincoln's first twenty-two years, whereas the twelve-day trip from Springfield to Washington in 1861 covers fifty pages. It should be said that these fifty pages are all that is worth reading.

H. E. P.

The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters: a Critical History. By Bernard Duffey. (Michigan State College Press: East Lansing, 1955. Pp. 285. \$6.50.)

This project, underwritten by the Rockefeller Foundation, reveals years of scholarly digging and is a mine of material for those who may wish to examine Chicago's cultural heritage.

Part I, "Protest and Search, 1890-1910," recounts the struggles and trials of a genteel minority to bring culture into the unrefined business of being "Hog butcher for the world"—a world where "culture's my wife's business; mine is hogs." Because Chicago's literary output was small—William Vaughn Moody, Robert Herrick, Hamlin Garland, Henry Fuller—Professor Duffey seems to think hogs won. Yet authors are not the only test of a culture. That little band who used to meet in the Little Room in the Auditorium established two universities, a symphony orchestra, an Art Institute, three famous libraries, and astonished the world with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. It seems to this unregenerate critic that Mr. Duffey is far too cavalier toward these endeavors.

Part II, "The Liberation, 1910-1925," Duffey seems to feel, owed little to its "Protest and Search" predecessors, but grew out of the impact of Chicago on those small-town boys, Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters, Vachel Lindsay and Sherwood Anderson, up from the sticks, "blown thither by such winds as scatter young men through the world to seek their fortune." Theirs is a "liberation" seen from back of the yards, from newspaper offices, from Hobohemia, from Schlogl's and the Dill Pickle Club, and animated economically by Altgeldian and Debsian socialism. The quotations used to prove all this seem to me to be taken from their authors' poorer productions, more on ideological than on literary grounds. The whole "liberation" idea seems dubious and interferes with consideration of what is more important, their artistic abilities. It seems to me that it gave us a Chicago less refined than in the "Protest and Search" period. It is the gusto of class warfare that makes the "liberators" tick; and their "liberation" is a joy in battle for the common man. Ironically—like Walt Whitman—they were admired and read, not by the red-shirted democrat they glorified, but by the genteel leisured class that found their books good slumming.

There is much in *The Chicago Renaissance* that is stimulating and informative. No one can read it without improving immensely his backgrounds and his sense of the multitudinous life that is Chicago. The generalizations, however, seem less convincing. It is not clear whom or what the boys from the country 'liberated' or what they "affirmed"; and to call their productions a "renaissance," as H. L. Mencken once did, seems a little bold.

These defects are not confined to Mr. Duffey, but are the occupational hazard of literary historians who try to materialize a tenuous connection between authors of the same period.

University of Illinois

BRUCE WEIRICK

Georgia Faye: Story of an American Family. By Lowell M. Greenlaw.
(Exposition Press: New York, 1954. Pp. 614. \$5.00.)

Georgia Faye Harrison (1883-1949) married author Lowell Greenlaw in 1903 and until her death they traveled extensively in the United States and Europe, and visited Hawaii and Alaska. Most of the book is given over to descriptions of these journeys. The early chapters have interesting data on life in Morrisonville, Flora and Olney, and on changes in Chicago—particularly the business district—during the last half-century (pages 506-50). The Greenlaws were active in St. James Methodist Church of Chicago, and fittingly there is considerable history of the church throughout the volume.

The Greenlaws never lost touch with their relatives and friends in central Illinois, as revealed in many pages. Georgia Faye is the central figure throughout: the story of her girlhood, courtship, marriage, motherhood and grandmotherhood is charmingly told. Her gift for making friends and her appreciation of good qualities in others made her an important influence upon those who knew her.

The author was associated with his father, Thomas B. Greenlaw, in the operation of business colleges in Flora and Olney (see *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Autumn, 1953, 309-11). In 1908 he entered the legal department of the Pullman Company, became general counsel in 1934, later a vice-president, and retired in 1951.

Georgia Faye is copiously annotated, with an adequate index and attractive end-plate maps.

H. E. P.

Frontiersman of Fortune: Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point. By Kenneth W. Duckett. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1955. Pp. 253. \$4.00.)

Moses McCure Strong (1810-1894) differs from most subjects of full-length biographies in never having attained pre-eminence in any one line of endeavor. Yet his career as promoter of railroads, mines, real estate and lumber mills; as lawyer, orator, politician, legislator, delegate to the constitutional convention of 1846, and author of a territorial history of Wisconsin influenced the development of the Territory and State in so many facets that the reader does not wonder at the State Historical Society's decision to add his

biography to those of Philetus Sawyer, Lyman C. Draper, William F. Vilas, James D. Doty and Matthew H. Carpenter in its *Biography Series*. Duckett has not written a eulogy: Strong's faults are no more glossed over than his virtues. The book is well worth the perusal of all those interested in the growth of the Midwest.

The printers, Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., of Binghamton, New York, as well as the publishing Society, are to be commended on the typographical excellence of the book. Footnotes (though inconveniently placed at the back of the book), bibliographical essay and index are all good.

J. N. A.

The White and the Gold: the French Regime in Canada. By Thomas B. Costain. (Doubleday & Company, Inc.: New York, 1954. Pp. 461. \$6.00.)

Marquette and Jolliet, La Salle and Tonty, did not come to Illinois out of a vacuum. With the vivid and fascinating style familiar to readers of *The Black Rose* and *The Silver Chalice*, Costain recreates the milieu of seventeenth-century New France—along with the policies and intrigues of old France which made Canada the colonizer of the Mississippi Valley and at the same time laid the foundations for its capture by England sixty years later.

This is the first book of a projected multi-volume multi-author series on the history of our northern neighbor "all the way from John Cabot to St. Laurent." The second volume should also be of special interest to Illinoisians, as the French-Canadian period in Illinois lasted seventy years after the end of *The White and the Gold*; and if the series lives up to Costain's beginning, the whole should be of interest to every North American.

The book is marred by an inordinate number of obvious typographical errors and by the absence of either footnotes or bibliography. While a complete list of sources might be, as Costain says, "of small value because of its very size," one wishes for a list of selective readings to pursue in more detail what the panoramic scope of *The White and the Gold* necessarily gives only in epitome. The twenty-page index, though not exhaustive, is adequate.

J. N. A.

Glory, God and Gold. By Paul I. Wellman. (Doubleday & Company, Inc.: New York, 1954. Pp. 402. \$6.00.)

This history of the Southwest (Texas, New Mexico and Arizona) from Coronado to the atom bomb—one of the *Mainstream of America Series*—has

all the color and interest suggested by the names of Houston, Crockett and Geronimo. Its style is notable for clarity, particularly in the history of the Republic of Texas and the account of the Comanche and Apache wars.

Surprising to this reviewer, however, is the frequency with which names from Illinois history entered also into the history of the Southwest. La Salle, having founded Forts St. Louis at Starved Rock and Peoria, as well as Fort Crèvecoeur, missed the mouth of the Mississippi and founded a third Fort St. Louis in Texas. He was murdered and his colonists massacred, and only seven survivors reached the safety of Henri de Tonty's post on Starved Rock. In 1723-1724 Etienne Venyard, Sieur de Bourgmont, headed an expedition from the Illinois country which set up France's westernmost outposts in America. Juchereau de St. Denis, who had operated a buffalo-hide tannery near the site of Fort Massac in the first years of the eighteenth century, reappeared from 1713 to 1744 under the sponsorship of Antoine Crozat and Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac as soldier-trader-adventurer, playing Spaniard against Frenchman and founding, among other places, San Antonio de B  xar and the Alamo.

Colonel John Whistler, commandant of Fort Dearborn during the Black Hawk War, headed an occupation force at Nacogdoches in 1836. Albert Sidney Johnston, General Atkinson's aide-de-camp in that conflict, was in 1839 a member of a commission to expel the Cherokee from Texas and force them to join in the Indian Territory their fellow tribesmen who had trekked from the Southeast across "Egypt." As the Mexican War began on Texas soil, still another Black Hawk War veteran, Zachary Taylor, was in command, and among his subalterns was Ulysses S. Grant.

The first of the cattle drives from Texas reached railhead at Quincy in the year of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. After the Civil War, the development of the Chicago Union Stockyards led stockman Joseph G. McCoy of Springfield and marshal "Wild Bill" Hickok of Troy Grove to make Abilene, Kansas, the first of the "cow towns" of the West. Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson of Jacksonville, commanding at Fort Sill, saved William Tecumseh Sherman's life during an Indian conference in 1871 by seizing Chief Lone Wolf's arm and deflecting his aim.

Glory, God and Gold is lacking in scholarly apparatus, having no annotations, no illustrations except nine maps, and a two-page bibliography which is a list of recommended supplementary reading rather than of sources. The index is adequate.

J. N. A.

Echoes of the Red Man: An Archaeological and Cultural Survey of the Indians of Southern Illinois. By Irvin M. Peithmann. (Exposition Press: New York, 1955. Pp. 134. \$3.00.)

Although the title seems to indicate that this work deals only with the prehistoric Indians, a brief sketch of the historic Indians is also included. The emphasis, however, is upon the Archaic, Woodland, Hopewellian and Mississippian cultures. From a study of the tools, weapons and skeletal remains found by archaeological excavations, largely sponsored by the Illinois State Museum and the University of Chicago, the lives of these early peoples are described for the casual reader. Numerous plates show some of the tools and ornaments used by the red men as they slowly advanced from a simple hunting existence to a settled agricultural life. The earliest or Archaic groups, living about ten thousand years ago, were hunters who roamed in search of game; the Woodland people learned to make pottery and lived in small villages; the Hopewellian Indians developed new techniques which gave them leisure time in which to build large tombs for their dead; and the Mississippian culture is recognized by its large village sites and advanced agriculture.

Illinois State Museum

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

Walam Olum or Red Score: The Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians Ed. by Eli Lilly and others. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1954. Pp. 379. \$15.)

The *Walam Olum* is the chronicle or legend of the Delaware Indians from the time of creation to the advent of European explorers in America. It was kept by painting symbols on sticks (which no longer exist) and arranging them in ordered bunches. Constantine S. Rafinesque first copied the pictures from these sticks and published a translation in 1836. However, this fine edition by the Indiana Historical Society is a complete study of the whole subject. In addition to a new translation, there are critical essays concerning the historical, anthropological, archaeological and ethnological aspects of this epic story. Many first-rate scholars (Carl F. Voegelin, Erminie W. Voegelin, Eli Lilly, Joe E. Pierce, Paul Weer, Glenn A. Black, and Georg K. Neumann) combined their knowledge to make this book a definitive edition. Besides the excellent scholarship, it is a masterpiece of the bookmaker's art.

Illinois State Museum

WAYNE C. TEMPLE



SPRING TOUR AT JACKSONVILLE

Jacksonville and the Morgan County Historical Society were hosts to the Illinois State Historical Society's fifty-sixth annual spring tour on May 13-14. A sunny, warm Saturday compensated for a rainy Friday the Thirteenth to the almost two hundred persons who found the program varied and enjoyable.

At the historical workshop Friday morning in Grace Methodist Church, Miss Fidelia N. Abbott reviewed the fifty-year history of the Morgan County Society. Cassell C. Kingdon followed with an entertaining and instructive account of his group's successes and difficulties in publishing the *El Paso Story* in connection with the town's centennial. Director Elwin W. Sigmund concluded the workshop with a report on the Junior Historian program, sponsored by the State Historical Society. Jewell A. Mann, Jacksonville superintendent of schools, presided.

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of the host society, past president of the State Society and president emeritus of MacMurray College, presided at the luncheon in Grace Church. The Rev. Frank Marston, pastor of the church, gave the invocation. Mayor Ernest L. Hoagland welcomed the visitors to Jacksonville and assured them of overtime parking privileges. President Arthur Bestor, professor of history at the University of Illinois, responded on behalf of the Society. Carl E. Robinson, Jacksonville attorney, spoke on "National Figures Associated with Jacksonville."

The Friday afternoon tour led to the new plant of Mrs. Tucker's Products, where competent guides demonstrated the amazing complexity of the operations behind a can of shortening or a pound of oleomargarine; and to the Hertzberg-New Method, Inc., Book Bindery, which makes Jacksonville the "library binding capital of the world."

President Bestor presided at the dinner in McClelland Dining Hall of MacMurray College. The invocation was given by the Rev. W. H. Pankhurst of the Congregational Church. The program after the meal was held in the Annie Merner Chapel; a group of sacred songs by the MacMurray choir was followed by an address by Professor Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University on "Savagery vs. Civilization on the American Frontier: the Fur Trappers." Dr. Billington was introduced by State Representative Hugh Green of Jacksonville.

Saturday's activities began at the Illinois Braille and Sight Saving School, where Superintendent Leo J. Flood presented a program by the students and Walter B. Hendrickson, professor of history at MacMurray, spoke on "Frank H. Hall and the Braille Writer." This was followed by a tour of the MacMurray campus, featuring the Pfeiffer Library and its Schriver Lincoln collection and art exhibition. Coffee was served in Ann Rutledge Hall.

The group returned to Grace Church for luncheon. President Louis W. Norris of MacMurray presided; the invocation was given by the Rev. Clare E. Malcolmson of the First Baptist Church, and an address on "Colleges in Illinois from 1850 to 1870" by Dean Ernest G. Hildner of Illinois College. Past President Irving Dilliard introduced the other past presidents and present officers and directors at the luncheon.

The Saturday afternoon tour began at the Illinois School for the Deaf, where Superintendent Thomas K. Kline gave a brief talk on the work of the school, which was demonstrated by three of the youngest pupils and their teacher. This was followed by a visit to the former home of Joseph Duncan, governor of Illinois (1834-1838), now the home of the Rev. James Caldwell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the David A. Smith home, now the women's social building of Illinois College; and the Illinois College campus, where the visitors saw the Lincoln Collection recently presented to the Tanner Library by Roy Packard; Beecher Hall, the oldest college building in the state (1829); and Barnes House, home of President and Mrs. William K. Selden, who entertained the members at tea.

President Selden presided at the dinner at McClelland Hall, and the Rev. Father Terence Tracy of Our Saviour's Catholic Church gave the invocation. The program in the Annie Merner Chapel began with piano selections by Miss Phyllis Wong, Chinese student at MacMurray, and organ numbers by Miss Elizabeth Paul, organist of the First Presbyterian Church of Arenzville. The speaker of the evening was Francis X. Busch, Chicago attorney and author, whose subject was "The Haymarket Riot and the Trial of the Anarchists." He was introduced by Harry G. Story, president of the Morgan County Bar Association.

Dr. McClelland as general chairman was ably aided by George W. Vasconcellos, in charge of local arrangements; President Selden, program; Dr. John S. Wright of Illinois College, exhibits; Superintendent Mann, tours; and Walter DeShara of the *Jacksonville Journal-Courier*, publicity. Superintendent Mann and Dr. Wright pointed out various places of interest between bus stops on the tours.

On registration at the Dunlap Hotel each person received an envelope containing a number of booklets and pamphlets on Jacksonville and central Illinois. Included among these was "Jacksonville 125 Years Ago," extracts from the writings of William H. Milburn (see page 137), with an introduction by Dr. McClelland.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone County Historical Society, organized in 1937, has been provided with a display room and storage space in the courthouse at Belvidere by the county Board of Supervisors.

The Society has opened a campaign for new members. Yearly membership cards may be obtained from the secretary, Miss Nelva Dean, 321 East Madison Street, Belvidere. Other officers of the Society for 1955 are: C. Fred Lewis, president; Perry Bennett, Thomas Beckington and Fred Bounds, vice-presidents; Willis Griffeth, treasurer. Trustees are: Fred A. Marean, Frank Garrigan and P. H. O'Donnell.

The third annual Magnolia Festival was held at Cairo, May 20-22. A pageant featuring events in Cairo history and tours of both historic and modern homes were part of the festivities.

The Chicago Historical Society was founded April 24, 1856. For its centennial extensive displays, open house and guided tours are planned. The Society, which operates Chicago's oldest museum and library, will show the contrasts between the city a hundred years ago and today.

The West Side (Chicago) Historical Society held its annual meeting on May 18 at the Legler Regional Branch Library. The principal speaker was Leonard Dubkin on the topic, "Glimpses Into Chicago's Past." A social hour preceded the program.

At the April meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society Mrs. Carro Craig Long discussed "Early American Homes" and called on those present to tell what they could remember of their first home. Pictures of six-

teen early homes in Albion were circulated for members to identify. Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner won an antique bookmark for recognizing twelve.

On June 3 some thirty members of the Society took a 270-mile bus trip to Ferne Clyffe State Park, the Indian collection of Joseph Thomas at Cobden, the natural bridge near Pomona, Giant City State Park and Crab Orchard Lake. Edgar L. Dukes was in charge of arrangements, and James Bond of Galatia explained the history of the various places visited.

Galena's eight-day celebration, April 23-30, of the birthday of Ulysses S. Grant began with a Boy Scout pilgrimage attended by 444 boys, of whom 72 received the new Grant Pilgrimage award. They were addressed by E. B. Long, editor of the new edition of Grant's *Memoirs* and president-elect of the Civil War Round Table of Chicago. On Sunday Congressman Leo E. Allen was master of ceremonies at a meeting in Turner Hall, with Orville E. Hodge, State Auditor of Public Accounts, the principal speaker. Rain put a damper on the scheduled parade preceding this meeting. The remainder of the week was occupied by various store displays and special programs. The restored Grant Leather Goods Store, opened for the 1955 season, has added to its display a life-size papier-maché model of "Cincinnati," Grant's horse.

The Jefferson County Historical Society took a field trip to Devil's Prop, a rock formation in a picturesque canyon in the northeastern part of the county, on June 26. This was followed by a picnic supper at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Hanes, near Divide.

At the annual meeting of the Kankakee County Historical Society on February 20 Mrs. William Boyd showed the collection of pictures of Kankakee citizens assembled by her husband over a period of many years.

Officers elected at this meeting include: Mrs. Thomas Baird, president; Clermont DeSelm, Len Small and Harold Simmons, vice-presidents; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary; and Gilbert Hertz, treasurer.

More than \$200 was raised toward the restoration of the old Knoxville courthouse when over a hundred friends attended a pancake breakfast on June 28, served by Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., at the home of the organization's president, Mrs. Irving Garcelon.

The Indian lore and history of Lake County were discussed at the Lake County Historical Society's annual meeting on March 4 at the home of James R. Getz in Lake Forest. Mr. Getz was re-elected president, and Mrs. Bess

T. Dunn, Richard T. Hantke and John W. Shaw, vice-presidents; Edward Arpee, secretary; M. Dutton Morehouse, treasurer; and Marjorie Porter, Hermon Dunlap Smith and Robert Tieken, directors, were also re-elected.

Horace Hickok was program chairman of the La Salle County Historical Society meeting on February 20 at the La Salle Congregational Church. The program was given by two teachers of the Ottawa High School—Robert Burns, who spoke on Starved Rock, and Keith Clark, who sang ballads which he had composed on La Salle County history, accompanying himself on his guitar. Among the historical articles displayed was a map of the state, exhibited by Ray Richardson whose ancestors used it when they came to Illinois in 1835.

Irving Dilliard spoke at the sixth annual meeting of the Logan County Historical Society at Lincoln College on March 20. James T. Hickey was re-elected president, E. H. Lukenbill vice-president and George A. Volle treasurer. N. L. Gordon was elected secretary. Mrs. W. S. Forsythe of Dallas, Texas presented the Society with a fife carried during the Civil War by her father, Preston Price Brady, who enlisted from Lincoln December 6, 1861 at the age of eighteen. Following the meeting a reception was held in the college library.

Jesse L. Simpson, former justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, was the principal speaker at the Madison County Historical Society's spring meeting May 1 at the Troy Methodist Church. Mrs. Ella Auwater gave historical reminiscences and Mrs. Viola Edwards recounted "The Massacre Story." President Harvey E. Dorsey of the Society presided. Oscar Gindler, mayor of Troy, welcomed the group to the city.

Dr. H. I. Gresens of Toledo, Illinois spoke to the Mattoon Historical Society on April 20, showing moving pictures and slides of the Toledo centennial, Oct. 6-9, 1954. The Society is preparing for the observance of Mattoon's centennial later this year.

The Mercer County Historical Society, organized in January and incorporated as a not-for-profit organization, plans to erect an exhibit building in Aledo through the generosity of its honorary president, E. L. Essley.

Other officers are: Richard B. Allen, president; George B. Acord, vice-president; the Rev. Howard R. Van Dyke, secretary-treasurer; Fred C. Clawson, Howard D. Haymes, Guy Noble and Glen Stancliff, directors. The

Society is offering family and junior memberships as well as individual ones. Direct descendants of David F. Noble, Mercer County pioneer ancestor of Mr. Essley, will be honorary members.

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of the Morgan County Historical Society, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society and president emeritus of MacMurray College, was the principal speaker at the Morgan County Society's banquet at the Hotel Dunlap on April 30. His subject was "Jacksonville 125 Years Ago," from the writings of the blind minister William H. Milburn.

President Louis W. Norris of MacMurray College gave the invocation. Resolutions of respect and tribute to the late Lawrence O. Vaught, a charter member, were read. Plans for the Illinois State Historical Society meeting at Jacksonville May 13-14 were discussed.

Awards were presented to the winners of the annual essay contest sponsored by the Society. In the high school division Rose Maria Sheeley won first prize, Donald Stewart and Sue Fohl tied for second; and in the eighth grade division Glenda Souza won first and Joanna Norris and Tom Wright tied for second.

The Oak Park Historical Society devoted its February meeting in the South Branch Library to the Civil War period and Lincoln's influence upon it. Mrs. Roy E. Smith and Mrs. A. A. Willander presented the program, which was followed by a social hour with refreshments.

The Ogle County Historical Society met at the Floyd Tilton School, Rochelle, on February 28. President Leland H. Carlson of Rockford College spoke on "History."

Officers elected at this meeting include: Mrs. A. H. Beebe, president; Mrs. Harold Walker, vice-president; Mrs. R. E. Etnyre, recording secretary; Mrs. Ivan Kuntzelman, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Yale Bates, treasurer.

The recently organized Perry County Historical Society took a field trip on May 22 to locate traces of the old Shawneetown-St. Louis trail. Passing the last bridge used by the pioneers between Franklin and Perry counties, and the sites of the old post offices of Mt. Pleasant, Rodney, Hawkins and Gallo-way, the trip ended at Tamaroa with a short business meeting and announcement of plans for the Society's summer activities.

Gale D. Hicks served as temporary president and D. A. Purdy as temporary secretary until permanent officers were elected at the Society's picnic meeting on June 13. J. Wesley Neville was elected president; Mrs.

Finis Hilt, vice-president; Mr. Hicks, secretary; Mrs. Elizabeth Spurgeon, treasurer; Mr. Purdy, curator of property; D. W. Hortin, publicity chairman; S. Dyer Campbell, Arch Voight and Mr. Hortin, directors. The meeting was held at the Hilt home. The Society has twenty charter members.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County was held on June 12. George Irwin, president; James Carrott and Oliver B. Williams, vice-presidents; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Mrs. William Wessels, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; and William F. Gerdes and W. Edwin Brown, trustees, were all re-elected. E. P. Lannan was named trustee to succeed the late L. E. Emmons.

A record total of 1,605 visitors registered at the Society's building during the year 1954-1955. The receipt of numerous gifts was reported.

Officers of the Rockton Township Historical Society elected in February are: Mrs. Frank Truman, president; Mrs. William Bigelow, vice-president; Mrs. Myron Eddy, secretary; Paul Sprague, treasurer; Armour Titus, Mrs. Mary Graham, Mrs. Frank Olsen and Frank Truman, directors.

At the March meeting of the Saline County Historical Society David Reeves and Cynthia Baker, students in the Eldorado Junior High School, read their articles from the *Illinois Junior Historian*. David's article on "The Eldorado Spoke Factory" appeared in the April issue and Cynthia's on "The McKendree College Bell" in January. Mrs. Fred Goetzman of Shawneetown, who had recently returned from a six-month visit with her parents in her native Ireland, talked about that country, its scenery, industries and people. The meeting concluded with a social hour.

The principal speaker at the Society's April meeting was Herman Towle, veteran merchant of Harrisburg, whose subject was "Three-Quarters of a Century Around the Square." Louis Aaron gave a historical sketch of Paul Revere, and Ray Durham told how Revere's route looks today. A film, "The Bill of Rights," was also shown. Both meetings were held in the Mitchell-Carnegie Library in Harrisburg.

The Society's July meeting was held on July 5 at the Carrier Mills High School, and was devoted to the history of that town and its vicinity. Corliss Carrier, Mrs. Frank McMahan, Mrs. Henry Cole, Howard Street and A. A. Stone took part in the program.

At a meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society in Fairfield on June 24 as guests of the Wayne County Historical Society, John W. Allen of Southern Illinois University was named first "Southern Illinois Historian of the Year" "because of his splendid work in promoting State Historical

Society tours in Southern Illinois, because of his service as a board member in the State and Southern Illinois Historical Societies, and most of all because of the great impetus he has given to popularizing Southern Illinois history through scores of newspapers in a series entitled 'It Happened in Southern Illinois.' The citation was read by T. Leo Dodd of Eldorado and seconded by Dr. Andy Hall of Mt. Vernon.

The principal speaker was George Hand, vice-president of S.I.U. with a "Twenty Minute Brag on Little Egypt." Wasson W. Lawrence, president of the host society, presided.

Philip L. Keister, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, has recently published a booklet, *Stephenson County Roads*, which traces the county's highways back to the earliest trails. With the coming of the railroads many of these were abandoned—some even before they were completed. The booklet is sponsored and printed by Robert F. Koenig, and the receipts from its sale will be used to redecorate the Stephenson County Historical Society's museum in Freeport. The publication sells for twenty-five cents.

The Vandalia Historical Society had a potluck dinner in the recreation room of the First National Bank on March 8. Harry Rogier spoke on the Alexander P. Field home.

On April 12 the Society met in the Blue Room of the Hotel Evans and heard a lecture on the Vandalia mural by John Matthew Heller in the dining room (see page 130).

The Society closed its activities for the spring with a picnic meeting at the Burtschi Club House on May 10. Committee assignments for 1955-1956 were announced. Special guests were Miss Wauneta Griffin and her Central Junior High School students who had submitted material to the *Illinois Junior Historian* during the past year. Joan Kielyan, recipient of the "Junior Historian of the Year" award, read her articles to the Society and a discussion of the Junior Historian program followed.

Roy Vail Jordan, professor emeritus of education and curator of the Lincoln Library at Southern Illinois University, was the principal speaker at the March 25 meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society in Fairfield. His topic was "Abraham Lincoln—Some New Insights." On June 24 the Society was host to the Southern Illinois Historical Society (see above).

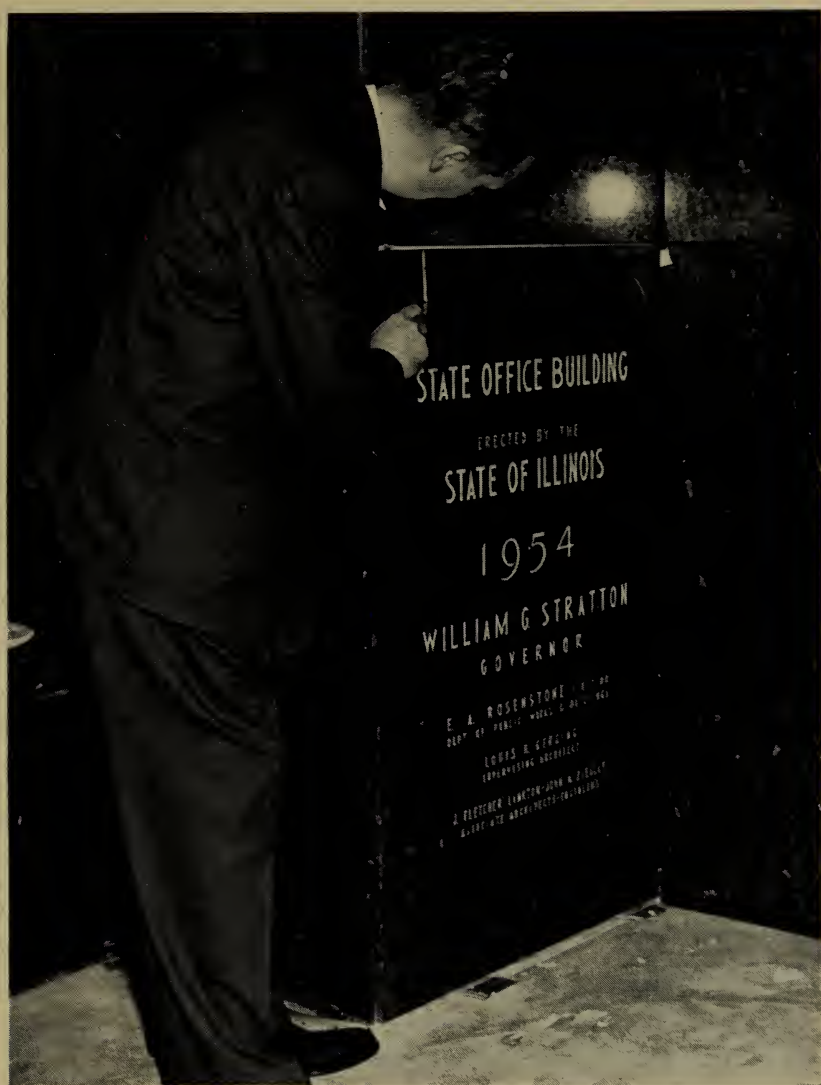


Photo by Illinois Studios, Springfield

STATE OFFICE BUILDING CORNERSTONE LAYING

Governor William G. Stratton is shown as he smoothed the final bit of cement to seal the 400-pound black granite cornerstone of the new State Office Building in Springfield on April 27, 1955. The eight-story, H-shaped structure, costing \$11,500,000, will be occupied shortly by 2,100 employees from about twenty state agencies. Sealed behind the cornerstone is a 150-pound lead box containing records of the times and of the building's construction.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS FOR 1955

Mattoon's first brick building, at the southeast corner of Sixteenth Street and Broadway, was erected in 1856, the same year the top picture on the front cover of this *Journal* was drawn. After numerous remodelings, one of which reduced it to a one-story structure, the bottom picture was taken in May by Warren K. Moody of the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*.

Mattoon, founded by Ebenezer Noyes in 1855, is the largest Illinois city to celebrate its centennial this year. Others include Aledo, Arcola, Bement, Brookport, Camp Point, Cerro Gordo, Chester, Elkhart, Frankfort, Gilman, Girard, Grayville, Homer, Lexington, Matteson, Morrison, Neponset, New Baden, Palatine, Palmyra, Sparland and Trenton. The Historical Society and Library would appreciate knowing about any other towns or cities that should be on this list.

SIXTH ANNUAL JUNIOR HISTORIAN AWARDS

Governor William G. Stratton presented "Illinois Junior Historian of the Year" awards to thirty-eight elementary and high school students in ceremonies in the auditorium of the Centennial Building in Springfield on Friday afternoon, May 20, as the climax of the eighth year of the Junior Historian program sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. It was the sixth year such awards had been given. Following the presentation the Governor received a leather-bound copy of the eight issues of the 1954-1955 *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, from Elwin W. Sigmund, director of the program. After the award ceremonies the winners and their guests visited the State Historical Library and the Governor's Mansion, where they were received by Mrs. Stratton and conducted on a tour of the newly-decorated home which has been the residence of the governors of Illinois since November, 1855.

During the past year the *Junior Historian* was read by students in more than four hundred schools in some two hundred communities from South Beloit to Metropolis. Rock Island, Madison and Cook counties had the largest number of subscribers. One hundred twenty-two articles, drawings and photographs appeared in the magazine, out of approximately five hundred submitted. The seventh annual Abraham Lincoln issue appeared in February, and the December issue was devoted to famous United States senators and representatives of the past from Illinois.

Two of this year's winners, Bill Ervin of Dwight and Winifred Hallen of Waukegan, also received awards in 1954. The complete 1955 list, representing twenty-four schools in twenty-two cities and towns, follows:

Alton: Tamara Hoagland, Jane Johnson, David Maze and Dennis Milford, East Junior High School.

- Carlyle:* Amy Wilkinson, Carlyle Grade School.
Carrollton: Charles Addison Gerson, Carrollton Community Unit School.
Chicago: Tom Angell, Alan Mogilner, Robert Mull and Larry Young, Harvard School for Boys.
Chillicothe: Linda Othic, Pearce Grade School.
Dixon: Laurel Cappa and Sandra Harvey, Washington School.
Dwight: Bill Ervin and Bill Walsh, East Side School.
East Moline: Frank Trask, John Deere School.
Eldorado: David Reeves, Washington Junior High School.
Elgin: Larry Hansen, Abbott Junior High School.
Geneva: Jo Ann Sipple, Geneva Community High School.
Jacksonville: Joanna Norris, David Prince Junior High School.
La Salle: Charlotte Bierbrodt, Lincoln School.
Lombard: Marlene Langenstrass, Lombard Junior High School.
Moline: Sue Magee and Janice Payne, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.
Oregon: Alison Lee Knight and Jack Roe, Oregon Elementary School.
Pekin: Gary R. Planck, Pekin Community High School.
Princeton: Beverly Kasbeer, Logan Junior High School.
Rock Island: Joyce Ann Atkins, Central Junior High School; Carl Cramer and Janet Whitehall, Franklin Junior High School; Jane Hollingsworth and Sally Murrison, Washington Junior High School.
Rockford: Roger Klingbeil and Wallace Wold, Washington Junior High School.
Vandalia: Joan Kielyan, Central Junior High School.
Waukegan: Winifred Hallen and Joyce Ann Stark, Andrew Cooke School.

LIST OF HISTORICAL LIBRARY'S NEWSPAPERS

An up-to-date, detailed list of the million-plus newspapers in the Illinois State Historical Library was published as a supplement to the June, 1955 issue of *Illinois Libraries*, the publication of the Illinois State Library. This list will be valuable for those who intend to come to the Historical Library for research, as it shows exactly what papers are available and which issues are missing from the Library files. Reprints of this list, which was compiled by James N. Adams, are available upon request to the Historical Library.

HISTORY OF LEECH TOWNSHIP

Leech Township in the southeastern corner of Wayne County contains fifty-four square miles. Its largest town is Golden Gate (population 199). Lelah Allison, whose family has lived in the township for more than 125 years, has written *The History of Leech Township*, a hard-cover book of 147 pages and half a dozen photographs. Ignoring the most sensational event ever to happen there—the machine-gun killing of Carl and Roy Shelton a few years ago—she has made study of the more reputable citizens, with chapters on early life, places, schools and churches. Much of her material

is folklore accumulated by her family, augmented by interviews with a number of old residents. Including several settlements that have faded away, the chapter on place names and how they were acquired is interesting for its stories about Barefoot, Egypt, Golden Gate, Gum Corner, Lower California, Sock Nation and Terrapin Ridge.

BETHALTO CENTENNIAL HISTORY

In connection with its centennial celebration of September 3-6, 1954 the Bethalto Centennial Committee published a thirty-six-page *Souvenir History for the Bethalto Centennial, 1854-1954*. Thirteen pages concern the early history of the community; the centennial program takes two pages, and the rest is devoted to schools, churches, civic and fraternal organizations. A brief history of old Fort Russell is given in connection with the Madison County Historical Society float in the centennial parade, depicting the fort manned by two uniformed soldiers armed with the long rifles of the War of 1812. The name of Bethalto, the only town so named in the United States, is thought to be derived from early Bethel Church nearby and Alton (there are also other theories).

AMERICAN HERITAGE

A new experiment in magazine publication was begun in December, 1954, when *American Heritage*, sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians, entered its sixth volume changed to a 112-page hard-cover publication. Bruce Catton, author of *Mr. Lincoln's Army*, *The Glory Road* and *A Stillness at Appomattox*, is editor-in-chief and James Parton is publisher. Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, native Illinoisan, is chairman of the advisory board, and Professor Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, Midwestern regional editor.

Each of the four issues which have thus far appeared contains a feature article on Lincoln or the Civil War: "Investigation, 1862" (Senator Wade and General Stone), by T. Harry Williams, in December; "Riding the Circuit with Lincoln," by Willard L. King, in February; "General Lee's Unsolved Problem," by Clifford Dowdey, in April; and "Lincoln's Plan for Reconstruction," chapters from the forthcoming fourth volume of J. G. Randall's *Lincoln the President* as completed since Dr. Randall's death by Professor Richard N. Current, in June. Other articles, of less direct interest to Illinoisans, have been written by such well-known authors as Lucius Beebe, Walter Havighurst, Lynn W. Turner, Frank Freidel and Stewart Holbrook. Be-

sides an average of a dozen articles in each issue, there are also book reviews, notices of new historical films and recordings, and a section on "News of History."

Paper, typography and illustrations are all that could be desired. The book-magazine is issued by American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17. The subscription price is \$12 per year (six numbers); single copies are available for \$2.95 at bookstores.

NEW HISTORY OF MASSAC COUNTY

The first Massac County history of the twentieth century has been written by George W. May, a Peoria teacher born and reared near Metropolis and hoping to spend his retirement there. In its 232 pages he reviews the various versions of the county's traditions and early history and brings the story up to date. Particularly interesting are his accounts of Fort Massac, the Burr conspiracy and the famous feud between the "Flatheads" and the "Regulators"; other chapters concern the Civil War, newspapers, churches, civic and fraternal organizations, economy, place names and recent developments—especially the construction of the atomic energy plant across the Ohio River and the two power plants (one in Massac County at Joppa and the other in Kentucky) to supply it with electricity. The history and folklore of this section have been May's hobby for more than twenty-five years and he has previously written a number of newspaper articles about them. His book has a bibliography, a map and a dozen photographs, but no index. The *History of Massac County, Illinois* may be obtained for \$3.25 from the Waggoner Printing Company, Galesburg, Illinois.

HISTORY AWARD ESTABLISHED

The Solon J. Buck Award of \$50, to be granted each year to the author of the best article published in *Minnesota History*, has been established by the Minnesota Historical Society. Last year's winner was Dr. Francis Paul Prucha of St. Marys, Kansas, for his article "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant."

Dr. Buck, in whose honor the award was named, was the author of *Illinois in 1818* (the introductory volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois*) and the compiler of *Travel and Description, 1765-1865 (Illinois Historical Collections, IX)*. He became superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and founded its quarterly in 1915. Later he became Archivist of the United States and recently retired as Assistant Librarian of Congress.

FAMILY HISTORIES

In the Spring, 1954 issue of this *Journal* were listed the names of those who had presented family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library within the previous year. Since the publication of that list the Library has received the following genealogies (up to April 16, 1955) and wishes to thank the donors.

- Bechtel.* James William Hook, *Judge Carl Bechtel of Hanau, Germany*, from author, New Haven, Conn.
- Beeson.* "Bible Records of Helen Beeson Stuckey Loomis. . ." (Photostatic copies), from Dr. Harold I. Meyer, Chicago.
- Bentley.* Emilie Sarter, *One Branch of the Bentley Family of Rhode Island*, from W. P. Bentley, Dallas, Tex.
- Bishop.* Stanley Scott, *Family History of John Bishop of Whitburn, Scotland. . .*, from Robert H. Montgomery, Boston, Mass.
- Briscoe.* R. C. Todd, "Briscoe Lineage," (Photostats), from Miss Lillian Briscoe, Springfield.
- Calyer.* Andrew Jackson Provost, Jr., "Calyer Family," from author, New Rochelle, N. Y.
- Chandler.* Chester E. Chandler, *A Genealogy, Particularly of the Chandler Family, 1633-1953*, from author, Winfield, Iowa.
- Clark.* Elmer Sayre Clark, "Clark of Elizabeth Town in New Jersey," from author, Pontiac.
- Cochran.* See *Young*.
- Corbin.* Blanche Corbin Cain, *The Corbin Lineage*, from Ira M. Corbin, Sandborn, Ind.
- Coulter.* Maude Graves Coulter, *Genealogy of John M. Coulter of Southwest Arkansas*, from author, Ogden, Ark.
- Crosby.* Eva M. C. Kellogg, *Crosbys of Henry County, Illinois, 1815-1936*, from Von Hoffmann Printing Company, St. Louis, Mo.
- Dawson.* Harlan W. Miller, *The Dawson Family in America*, from author, Lawrence, Kans.
- Dexter.* Mrs. P. D. Leger, "Darius Dexter, Pioneer of Pike County, Illinois," from author, Arlington, Va.
- Emison.* James Wade Emison, Jr., *The Emison Families, Revised*, from author, Vincennes, Ind.
- Espenchied.* Frederic Pabst, *Our Ancestors in their Native Rhineland*, from Lloyd Espenchied, Kew Gardens, N. Y.
- Fisher.* Florence Hepp Petersen, *The Fisher-Stombaugh Families and Allied Lineages of Maryland and Pennsylvania*, from Mrs. Elmore Petersen, Boulder, Colo.
- Fosdick.* Raymond B. Fosdick, *Annals of the Fosdick Family*, from author, Newtown, Conn.
- Frame.* Julia Locke Frame Bunce, *Some of the Descendants of David Frame-Fram and his Wife Catherine Miller*, from Mrs. Philip D. Bunce, Minneapolis, Minn.

- Gall.* Olive Gall Newcomer, *The Gall and Williams Genealogy*, from Mrs. Lionel E. Newcomer, Fleetwood, Pa.
- Gilkey.* George L. Gilkey, "The Gilkeys, Supplement," from author, Merrill, Wis.
- Goossen.* Alvin Buller, *The Heinrich Goossen Genealogy*, from author, Lehigh, Kans.
- Gustin.* Lester Carlisle Gustin, *The Ancestry of Herbert Ervin Gustin and that of his Wife Julia Livingston Carlisle*, from author, Winchester, Mass.
- Hazelton.* John Herbert James Yule, "Genealogical Sketches of Robert and John Hazelton of Rowley, Massachusetts," from author, Washington, D. C.
- Heacock.* Roger Lee Heacock, *The Ancestors of Charles Clement Heacock, 1851-1914*, from author, Antwerp, Belgium.
- Hillman.* James Kimble Young, "The History and Genealogy of the Oliver Perry Hillman Family," from author, Springfield.
- Jackson County, Indiana.* Fort Vallonia Chapter of the D. A. R., "Historical and Genealogical Records Pertaining to Jackson County, Indiana," from Mrs. C. E. Gilliatt, Seymour, Ind.
- Judd.* Sylvester Judd, *Thomas Judd and His Descendants*, from Mrs. G. H. Crampton, Evanston.
- Knight.* Ray R. Knight, "Knight Family," from author, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Layne.* Floyd Benjamin Layne, *Layne Genealogy*, from author, Los Angeles, Calif.
- McDonald.* Daniel H. Redfearn, *Alexander McDonald of New Inverness, Georgia, and His Descendants*, from author, Miami, Fla.
- Mall.* Daniel Mall, *Ancestry Mall*, from Jesse M. Mall, Hoisington, Kans.
- Martin.* Talmadge Martin, *A Brief History of the Village of Wakarusa, Indiana and the Genealogy of the Martin and Troxel Families*, from Mrs. G. H. Crampton, Evanston.
- Maurer.* George Franklin Dunkelberger and Enid Eleanor Adams, "The Maurer Family, Pennsylvania Pioneers," from Mrs. Carol Lind, Seattle, Wash.
- Meek.* Carleton L. Meek, "Meek Genealogy, 1640-1954," from author, Lincoln, Neb.
- Mitchell.* See *Roberts*.
- Montfort.* Ray R. Knight, "Montfort Family," from author, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Morris.* Ray R. Knight, "Morris Family," from author, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Noland.* Edward J. Ronsheim, "The Stephen-Daniel Line of the Noland Family," from author, Anderson, Ind.
- North Tarrytown, New York.* William Graves Perry, ed., *The Old Dutch Burying Ground of Sleepy Hollow in North Tarrytown, New York*, from editor, Boston, Mass.
- Patton.* Charles Lanphier Patton, *A Chronicle of the American Lineage of the Pattons*, from author, Springfield.
- Posner.* Stanley Irving Posner, *The Posner Family Tree*, from author, Washington, D. C.

- Prichard.* Jacob L. Pritchard, *A Compilation of Some of the Descendants of Roger Prichard c1600-1671*, from author, San Jose, Calif.
- Providence, Rhode Island.* *List of Persons and Estates in the Town of Providence. . . September, 1787*, from Mrs. Carol Lind, Seattle, Wash.
- Redfearn.* Daniel Huntley Redfearn, *History of the Redfearn Family, Revised ed.*, from author, Miami, Fla.
- Roberts.* Ray Roberts Knight, "Roberts and Mitchell Families," from author, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Robertson.* Wassell Randolph, "The Reverend George Robertson (1662-1739) . . .," from author, Memphis, Tenn.
- Rood Family.* Robert Rood Buell, "The Rood-Rude Record," Vol. I, no. 3, from author, Prairie du Sac, Wis.
- Rush.* Elijah Ellsworth Brownell, *The Revolutionary War Record of Jacob Rush (2) in 1776-1781*, from Mrs. Carol Lind, Seattle, Wash.
- Sabin Family.* W. H. W. Sabine, "Sabin(e): The History of an ancient surname . . .", from publisher, Colburn & Tegg, New York, N. Y.
- Sherman.* Mary Lovering Holman, *Descendants of William Sherman of Marshfield, Massachusetts*, from Harriett Grace Scott, Brookline, Mass.
- Sias.* Azariah Boody Sias, *The Sias Family in America*, from author, Orlando, Fla.
- Smith.* James William Hook, *Lieut. Samuel Smith, His Children. . .*, from author, New Haven, Conn.
- Stamm.* Edward J. Ronsheim, "The Stamm Family of Ohio and Kentucky," from author, Anderson, Ind.
- Stombaugh.* See *Fisher*.
- Stuenkel.* Francelia Stuenkel, *History and Genealogy of the Family of Johann Heinrich Stuenkel and Margareta Stuenkel*, from author, Chicago.
- Troxel.* See *Martin*.
- Underwood.* Lucien Marcus Underwood, *The Underwood Families of America*, from Allen Underwood, Modesto.
- Warren County, New Jersey.* Edward Barrass, *Authentic List of Marriages in Warren County, New Jersey, 1834-1868*, from Mrs. Carol Lind, Seattle, Wash.
- Westbrook.* W. J. Coulter, "Westbrook Family Vol. A Vital Records, 1850, 1860," from compiler, Washington, D. C.
- Willard.* Mrs. James Watson Wolfe, "Twigs and Branches. A Willard Descendant Tells of Her Family in America," from author, Chicago.
- Williams.* See *Gall*.
- Young.* James Kimble Young, Jr., "The History and the Genealogy of the Young-Cochran Family of Bourbon County, Kentucky," from author, Springfield.
- Yuill.* John Herbert James Yule, "Genealogical Sketches of James Yuill of Ramsay Township, Lanark County, Ontario," from author, Washington, D. C.

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THE HAYMARKET RIOT AND THE TRIAL OF THE ANARCHISTS

BY FRANCIS X. BUSCH

MAY FIRST has long been a day on which to anticipate trouble. As for many years past, thousands of discontented workers and unemployed still parade the streets of European and American cities on that day, either to show their strength or to protest against real or fancied grievances.

On Saturday, May 1, 1886 in Chicago the grievances of labor were not imaginary. Times were none too good. Labor, skilled and unskilled, was overworked and underpaid. Workers in the stockyards, industrial plants and the smaller sweatshops labored from ten to sixteen hours daily. The wages of these unfortunates were far from sufficient to provide a sanitary place in which to live, and decent food and clothing. There was no added pay for overtime, no paid holidays or any of the modern "fringe benefits."

This May Day found thousands on strike and many more thousands, discontented and sullen, threatening walkouts. The workers' cry for an eight-hour day—with ten hours' pay for the eight hours—had been taken up by the radical newspapers:

Francis X. Busch, Chicago attorney and dean emeritus of the De Paul University law school, delivered this address before the Illinois State Historical Society at Jacksonville last May 14. He is the author of In and Out of Court (1942), Law and Tactics in Jury Trials (1948) and Enemies of the State (1954).

the *Alarm*, the national organ of the American anarchists, the Communist *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Anarchist* published in Chicago. The *Alarm* (published fortnightly and monthly) was printed in English, the *Anarchist* (monthly) and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (daily) in German. Their combined circulation in Chicago was less than 10,000.

This is a fair sample of the fuel which the *Alarm* kept pouring on the smoldering fire:

Dynamite! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe, . . . plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and gratifying result will follow. . . . Dynamite is like Banquo's ghost, it keeps on fooling around somewhere or other in spite of his satanic majesty. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow, and don't you forget it. Our law makers might as well try to sit down on a crater of a volcano or a bayonet as to endeavor to stop the manufacture and use of dynamite. It takes more justice and right than is contained in laws to quiet the spirit of unrest. If workingmen would be truly free, they must learn to know why they are slaves. They must rise above petty prejudice and learn to think. From thought to action is not far, and when the worker has seen the chains, he need but look a little closer to find near at hand, the sledge with which to shatter every link. The sledge is dynamite.

For six months before the Haymarket Riot such articles as this were pouring forth from the presses of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

The eight-hour question is not, or at least should not be, the final end of the present organization, but, in comparison to the present state of things, a progress not to be overrated. But now let us consider the question in itself. How is the eight-hour day to be brought about? Why, the thinking workingman must see for himself, under the present power of capital in comparison to labor, it is impossible to enforce the eight-hour day in all branches of business, otherwise than with armed force. With empty hands the workingmen will hardly be able to cope with the representatives of the club, in case, after the 1st of May of this year, there should be a general strike. Then the bosses will simply employ other men,—so-called "scabs." Such will always be found. The whole movement then would be nothing but filling the places with new men; but if the

workingmen are prepared to eventually stop the working of the factories, to defend himself, with the aid of dynamite and bombs, against the militia, which will, of course, be employed, then, and only then, can you expect a thorough success of the eight-hour movement. THEREFORE, WORKINGMEN, I CALL UPON YOU, ARM YOURSELVES!

The incessant prodding of the workers to enforce their demands by violent means was not confined to the outpourings of these newspapers. For months a group of openly-professed anarchists had harangued and preached anarchy to the crowds of loafers in Union Square, Newberry Park and other open spots in Chicago. Chief among these rabble-rousers were August Spies, Michael Schwab, Albert R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, Louis Engel and Adolph Fischer. None of these were members of the striking unions. All but Parsons were foreign-born; none had become naturalized. Spies was managing editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Schwab its coeditor and editorial writer, and Fischer a contributor and stockholder. Parsons was editor-in-chief of the *Alarm*; Fielding was a stockholder in the company which controlled it and a frequent contributor to its columns. Engel was the moving spirit of the *Anarchist*.

May 1 witnessed the largest labor parade ever seen in Chicago up to that time; there were inflammatory placards, mutterings and threats a-plenty, but no open violence. Sunday passed peaceably, but on Monday, May 3, violence broke out at the struck McCormick Harvester plant when strikers gathered at the gates attacked strike breakers who had been hired to take their places. A riot call brought police to the scene. Clubs were freely used and several shots fired; one striker was killed and several wounded.

Before the riot both Spies and Parsons had harangued the strikers, inciting them to direct action against the "scabs" who were taking the bread out of the mouths of their wives and children. Neither was present when the rioting took place. That evening an article (later proved to have been written by Spies) appeared in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

REVENGE! WORKINGMEN! TO ARMS!

Your masters sent out their blood-hounds—the police—they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches because they, like you, had courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you "free American citizens" that you must be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed! . . . If you are men, if you are the sons of your grandsires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms, we call you, to arms!

YOUR BROTHERS.

Twenty-five hundred copies of the article were printed in English and German and distributed in various parts of the city.

The following afternoon, Tuesday, May 4, handbills, later traced to Spies and his associates, advertised a giant mass meeting at the old Haymarket, Desplaines and Randolph streets. These were distributed by thousands at the gates of the McCormick and other struck plants. Of these two or three hundred carried in bold, black type: "WORKINGMEN ARM YOURSELVES AND APPEAR IN FULL FORCE!" At Spies' insistence Fischer had deleted this caption from the remainder.

At 8:30 Spies, Parsons, Fielden and Rudolph Schnaubelt mounted an empty truck wagon which stood next to the sidewalk on the east side of Desplaines Street about a hundred feet north of Randolph. There had been a more or less continuous drizzle, and the crowd was disappointingly small—probably not more than 1,200. Spies called the meeting to order and harangued the crowd in German for some twenty minutes, bitterly assailing McCormick "for the murder of our brothers." There were cries of "Hang McCormick!" from some of the more excitable members of the audience. Parsons followed, speaking in English. His language was even stronger than that of Spies: "It behooves you . . . if you don't want to see [your wives and children] perish with hunger, killed or cut down like dogs in the street, Americans, in the interest of your lib-

erty and your independence, to arm, to arm yourselves."

When Parsons left off, Fielden took over. It was nearing 10:30 P.M. and about three-fourths of the crowd had left. "The law is your enemy," cried Fielden. "We are rebels against it. The law is only framed for those who are your enslavers." (Cries of "That is true" from the crowd.) Fielden continued:

Men in their blind rage attacked the McCormick factory and were shot down in cold blood. . . . the law came to his defense; and [McCormick] was a large property owner, therefore when McCormick undertook to do some injury to the interest of those who had no property the law also came to his . . . and not to the workingman's defense when McCormick attacked him and his living. [Cries of "No."] There is the difference. The law makes no distinctions. A million men own all the property in this country. The law has no use for the other fifty-four million. [Chorus of cries: "That's right enough, that's right enough."]. . . . Any animal, however loathsome, will resist when stepped upon. Are men less than snails and worms? I have some resistance in me; I know that you have too; you have been robbed, and you will be starved into a worse condition.

It was at this juncture that a small army of police—180, according to the later evidence—burst upon the scene, led by Captains Bonfield and Ward. The latter ordered the crowd to disperse. Fielden attempted to argue. The captain's demands grew sterner and louder. Fielden, Spies, Parsons and some others unidentified started to climb down from the wagon. At this moment a dynamite bomb, thrown from the crowd, landed and exploded among the crowded police cordon. A fusillade of revolver shots followed—the number estimated later by witnesses as between seventy-five and a hundred. They came both from the crowd and from the police. The police closed ranks and charged and scattered the now screaming mob. When order was restored and accounting had of the casualties, one policeman had been killed, six others fatally wounded and seventy injured. One of the crowd—a harmless spectator—was hit and fatally wounded by a police bullet;

fifty others received bullet wounds or club injuries, none of which, however, proved fatal.

Such was the Haymarket Riot.

The excitement caused by this mass murder of seven policemen can be better imagined than told. With the aid of Pinkerton detectives, supplied and paid for by the Harvester Company, Spies, Schwab, Engel, Fischer and Fielden were promptly arrested. Parsons could not be located. Investigation led to the subsequent arrest of Louis Lingg, William Seliger and Oscar Neebe. All these, together with the absent Parsons and Schnaubelt, were promptly indicted on May 27 by a grand jury as accessories before the fact to the murder of Patrolman Mathias Joseph Degan, and for general conspiracy to murder. A number of others were arrested and indicted for inciting to riot.

Lingg had come to America from Germany about ten months before the Haymarket murders. He was a member of an anarchist organization—the International Arbeiter [Workingmen's] Association—in which he was closely associated with Spies, Schwab, Parsons, Fielden, Engel and Fischer. He had no regular employment, but spent his time manufacturing and experimenting with dynamite bombs. Seliger was Lingg's landlord and assisted him in his sinister occupation.

Neebe was a member of the International Arbeiter Association, a small stockholder in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and next to Schwab and Spies the most active man in its management.

Schnaubelt was also a member of the International Arbeiter Association and participated actively in the arrangements for the Haymarket meeting. Some witnesses (contradicted by others) testified that he threw the bomb.

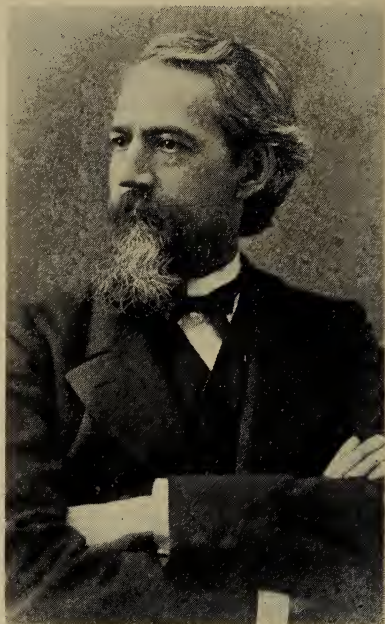
Seliger and a number of other members of the International Arbeiter Association, who were to a greater or less extent involved in the conspiracy, testified for the State and thereby procured immunity. Schnaubelt was never apprehended.

Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Engel, Fischer, Lingg and Neebe were brought to trial on June 21 before Judge Joseph E. Gary of the Superior Court of Cook County, sitting as a judge of the Criminal Court. Judge Gary was a highly regarded trial judge. He had been on the bench for more than twenty years, had presided in many important civil and criminal cases, and had acquired a nation-wide reputation as a learned, wise and upright judge.

At the prosecutor's table sat State's Attorney Julius S. Grinnell, an able and experienced trial lawyer, and his assistants, Francis W. Walker, Edmund Furthman and George C. Ingham. Captain William P. Black, a first-rate trial lawyer, and William A. Foster, an equally competent Iowa attorney, led for the defense. They were assisted by two young members of the Illinois bar—Sigismund Zeisler and Moses Salomon.

The first hundred veniremen had been summoned and the empaneling of the jury just begun when the trial was interrupted by an event as dramatic as ever took place in an American courtroom. Parsons, as has been noted, had not been apprehended. After the dynamiting he had managed to disappear in the crowd, make his way to a railroad station and board a train for Waukesha, Wisconsin, on his way to Canada. From his secret and safe haven he had been kept informed of the course of events, and on the advice of Captain Black, who assured him that his acquittal was certain, had planned to appear in the courtroom when the case was called and dramatically present himself for trial with his comrades. But when he entered the courtroom, before he had a chance to make his grandstand play, Grinnell was on his feet. Pointing at the erstwhile fugitive, he shouted: "I see in the courtroom Albert R. Parsons, indicted for murder, and demand his immediate arrest." Quietly Parsons replied: "I present myself for trial with my comrades, your Honor." Just as quietly Judge Gary followed with: "You will take your seat with the prisoners, Mr. Parsons."

With Parsons in his place inside the rail, the trial proceeded. Nine hundred eighty-one talesmen were subjected to examination; 757 were excused for cause—either they had formed a fixed and ineradicable opinion of the guilt or innocence of the defendants, or were opposed to capital punishment, or would not convict on circumstantial evidence. Of the remaining 224, the defendants eliminated 160 by exhausting their peremptory challenges. The State, which also had 160 peremptories, used 52 of them. The defense protested the swearing of two of the final twelve, but were compelled to accept them, since their challenges for cause were overruled and their peremptories exhausted. This was the first of the alleged errors of which more was to be heard in the courts of appeal.



WILLIAM P. BLACK (*ca.* 1890)

The keynote of the trial was sounded by Mr. Grinnell in his opening statement:

Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of our country are people on trial for endeavoring to make anarchy the rule, and in that attempt for ruthlessly and awfully destroying human life. I hope that while the youngest of us lives this in memory will be the last and only time in our country when such a trial shall take place. It will or will not take place as this case is determined. . . . In the light of the 4th of May we now know that the preachings of Anarchy [by] . . . these defendants hourly and daily for years, have been sapping our institutions, and that where they have cried murder, bloodshed, Anarchy and dynamite, they have meant what they said, and proposed to do what they threatened. . . . The firing upon Fort Sumter was a terrible thing to our country, but it was open warfare. I think it was nothing compared with this insidious, infamous plot to ruin our laws and

our country secretly and in this cowardly way. . . .

Everything was ripe with the Anarchists for ruining the town. . . . There was going to be one bomb thrown there [Haymarket Square] at least, and perhaps more, and that would call the police down; but the police . . . were to be destroyed, absolutely wiped off the earth by bombs in other parts of the city.

The defense reserved its opening statement until the close of the prosecution's case, and the hearing of the evidence commenced.

The State's principal witnesses were Seliger and a number of the prisoners' other associates in the International Arbeiter Association and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, police officers, and two men, not in any way connected with the alleged conspiracy, who had been in the neighborhood and joined the crowd out of mere curiosity. One of these—Harry L. Gilmer—was badly discredited on cross-examination, and nine persons took the stand to swear they would not believe him under oath.

The evidence against all the defendants, with the possible exception of Neebe, was overwhelming. Dozens of inflammatory articles advising the manufacture and stocking of dynamite bombs for possible use against the police and the militia were shown to have been written by Spies, Schwab and Parsons. A dozen or more witnesses—some co-conspirators, some police and some disinterested persons—testified to their attendance at meetings held shortly before the riot at which Spies, Schwab, Parsons, Fielden, Engel and Fischer made inflammatory speeches in which they preached anarchy and counseled the free use of dynamite to bring it about.

There was a wealth of evidence as to the purposes and activities of the International Arbeiter Association. Its platform or declaration of principles was featured regularly in the *Alarm* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. It urged the destruction of the present social order; that all property owned by individuals and all capital be transformed into common property. All past

attempts at social and economic reform through the ballot had failed, it declared; there was only one remedy left—revolution and force. The association was divided into groups, of which there were eighty in the United States, located principally in the large industrial centers. There were at least seven of these groups in Chicago, which held meetings regularly in the various sections of the city. Schwab, Neebe, Lingg and Seliger belonged to the North Side group; Engel and Fischer to the Northwest Side group; Spies, Parsons and Fielden to a so-called "American" group. The members were known by numbers rather than by names.

Certain chosen members of the group were armed with rifles and drilled regularly under the direction of a former German army sergeant once a week at their meeting places. These men were known as the "armed sections" of the groups. The elite corps in these different international groups, known as the "Lehr und Wehr Verein," were armed with Springfield rifles of the latest pattern and drilled once a week. There were four of these elite companies in Chicago. In the spring of 1886 there were altogether in the city 3,000 armed anarchists, of whom Parsons wrote: "They were well-armed with rifles and revolvers and would have dynamite and bombs when they got ready to use them." These groups were directed by an Executive Committee, of which Spies, Schwab and Parsons were members, which met every two weeks in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* building. Meetings of the armed sections were called by code signals published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

A mass of evidence was introduced to show the particular contribution of each of the defendants to effectuate the avowed purposes of the International Arbeiter Association. It was proved that Engel and Parsons had been active for more than a year in the procurement of rifles and pistols; that Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, Fischer and Lingg had been engaged in experimenting with dynamite and making bombs, and that a stock of bombs was kept in the offices of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

Parsons and Fielden were shown to have personally participated in the military drills of the armed section of the "American" group of the Arbeiter Association.

There was testimony that on the preceding Thanksgiving Day, before a meeting in Haymarket Square, Fischer gave to one Gottfried Waller, a member of the Lehr und Wehr Verein, a gas-pipe bomb seven or eight inches long, saying that it was to be used in the event of an attack by the police. Waller as one of the prosecution's witnesses testified that he kept the bomb in his house for two weeks, and then gave it to a fellow-member of the Verein who took it out to some woods on the outskirts of Chicago and exploded it. This was frequent practice on the part of the defendants and other members of the International, so that they might gain experience in the handling, lighting and throwing of bombs.

Lingg had, as previously stated, recently arrived from Germany. Though only twenty-two years old, he had been active as a Socialist leader in Europe. The evidence established that he had been selected by the International to buy dynamite and experiment with it in the manufacture and detonation of various types of bombs. Seliger was his principal assistant. They produced several types of bombs. One type was designated as a "Czar" bomb—a crude affair made of two semi-globular shells, fastened together with a bolt and nut. Some of these were found in Lingg's possession when he was arrested, and one was traced to Spies. Fragments of the bomb exploded at the Haymarket and removed from the bodies of some of the victims were identified and offered in evidence. The parts corresponded exactly with parts of the Czar bombs in Lingg's and Spies' possession. A chemical analysis of the Lingg and Spies bombs showed the same composite of materials—tin, with traces of antimony and zinc—as did the parts of the bomb-shell taken from the victims of the riot.

The State's evidence further showed that on the afternoon of May 4 Lingg and Seliger carried a small hand trunk con-

taining a number of bombs from Seliger's house, intending to take it to the headquarters of the North Side group of the International—a saloon at 58 Clybourn Avenue. On the way they were met by a fellow-member named Nunsenberg, who carried it to the headquarters. It was there placed upon the floor and left open. A number of persons called during the day, helped themselves to bombs and departed. No one was able to tell who these people were. Nunsenberg disappeared. The anonymous features of this incident highlight a quotation from the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

In the commission of a deed, a comrade who does not live at the place of the action, that is a comrade of some other place, should, if possibility admits, participate in the action, or, formulated differently, a revolutionary deed ought to be enacted where one is not known.

The Lehr und Wehr Verein—the elite guard of the International—met in a hall near Haymarket Square the night before the riot. Copies of Spies' "Revenge" circular were distributed and discussed. Engel was the leading spirit at this meeting; his resolution for a plan of specific action was adopted. The central feature of this plan was that members of the armed sections should come to the aid of the striking workmen if a collision with the police was threatened. A rallying word and signal was agreed on—"Ruhe," which in German means "rest" or "peace." The featured publication of that word in the "letter-box" column of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was to be the signal for members of the armed section to repair to specified meeting places described by code in the notice. If the police attacked the strikers, some of the armed sections were to respond with shots from their revolvers; other members were simultaneously to throw a dynamite bomb in each of the Chicago police stations. The resulting confusion was counted upon to disorganize the police, make further violence easier and permit the revolutionists to escape. The word "Ruhe" did appear in the Tuesday morning edition of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in heavily leaded, emphasized type. Arrange-

ments were made at these meetings of the armed sections for the distribution of thousands of handbills for the giant mass meeting the next evening in Haymarket Square. It was confidently predicted and expected that at least 25,000 would be present. The designated meeting place was less than a block and a half from the Desplaines Street police station.

There was cumulative evidence as to the gathering of the crowd, the calling to order of the mass meeting, the speeches of Spies, Parsons and Fielden, and the throwing of the bomb. It was shown that the police captain addressed the crowd in the exact language prescribed by Section 253 of Division I of the Criminal Code to be used in dispersing an armed or riotous gathering of thirty or more persons: "I command you in the name of the People of the State of Illinois to immediately and peaceably disperse." According to some of the witnesses, Fielden replied to this command in clear and emphatic tones, "We are peaceable." Immediately the bomb was thrown. The State contended that the word "peaceable" was the equivalent of "Ruhe" and the signal for throwing the bomb.

The prosecution claimed that following the explosion of the bomb members of the crowd discharged revolvers into the crowded ranks of the police. The defense vigorously denied this, claiming that all the shots came from police revolvers. The testimony of disinterested surgeons who had removed bullets from the dead and wounded policemen proved that they were of definitely different types and calibers from those supplied for the guns of the police. That Spies, Parsons and Fielden participated in and addressed the Haymarket meeting was not disputed. The testimony of several policemen that immediately after the bomb was thrown Fielden had a revolver in his hand and fired at the police, however, was vigorously disputed by him and other defense witnesses.

It was proved that during the meeting Schwab, Engel, Fischer and twenty-five or thirty men were in the immediate neighborhood of the Desplaines Street police station, acting

in a strangely excited manner; and that Seliger and Lingg in the early part of the evening were close by the North Avenue police station, and were later seen in company with members of the Lehr und Wehr Verein near the police station at Webster and Lincoln avenues.

Neebe was proved to be not only a stockholder of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and active in its management, but also a member of the North Side group of the International and a participant in the meetings of that group who frequently acted as presiding officer. He was shown to have been present at one of the group's meetings in April at which it was resolved "not to meet the enemy unarmed on May 1st." On Monday night, May 3, he was seen distributing the "Revenge" circulars which had been printed on the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* presses. In the distribution he was said to have made angry utterances such as "It is a shame the police act that way, but maybe the time comes when it goes the other way—that they [the strikers] get a chance, too." He said the dynamite found in the offices of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* after the riot was used to clean type. When his house was searched on May 7 the police found a red flag, a sword, a breech-loading gun and a .38 Colt revolver, of which four chambers had been fired and one was loaded. It was not shown that Neebe was at Haymarket Square or any of the police stations on the night of May 4.

All the defendants disclaimed any connection with the throwing of the bomb, any previous knowledge of an intent to throw it, or any idea as to who had thrown it. Schwab, Engel, Lingg and Fischer claimed they were not at or near the meeting in Haymarket Square, and were supported by the testimony of their comrades.

Critics of the trial have laid great stress on the State's failure to prove who actually hurled the bomb, or that it was thrown by one of the conspirators or their agent. The indictment consisted of a number of counts, some of which charged that the bomb was thrown by Schnaubelt, indicted as a co-

conspirator; others charged that it was thrown in pursuance of the plan of the conspirators by a person unknown. Several witnesses placed Schnaubelt in the neighborhood of Haymarket Square during the meeting, and a number of others present, when shown a photograph of Schnaubelt, identified him as the man who threw the bomb. Others called by the State, who saw some man hurl the bomb, were unable to identify Schnaubelt or anyone else as the thrower. All the evidence introduced by the defense tended to show that Schnaubelt was not in the Haymarket crowd at the time of the riot, and therefore the bomb was not thrown by him, but by an unidentified and unknown person with whom none of the indicted men had any connection. The State's theory of the law was that the bomb thrower was sufficiently identified when it was shown by either direct or circumstantial evidence that he was a member of the conspiracy, and threw the bomb to carry out the conspiracy or further its designs; that his identification by name or description was unnecessary. The jury was instructed on this theory, and this became one of the principal claims of error to the Supreme Court of Illinois.

The arguments of contending counsel were passionate and at times vitriolic. Captain Black's principal argument for the defense was a flamboyant piece of rhetoric, but whether judicious or not is seriously open to question. As one newspaper commented, it was "a defense of terrorism, directed more to appeasing his clients than persuading the jury." He thundered:

Jesus, the great socialist of Judea, has preached the socialism taught by Spies and his other apostles. John Brown and his attack on Harper's Ferry may be compared to the Socialists' attack on modern evils. Gentlemen, the last word for these eight lives. They are in your hands, with no power to which you are answerable but God and history, and I say to you in closing only the words of that Divine Socialist: "As ye would that others should do to you, do you even so to them."

Grinnell's and Ingham's closing arguments for the State

were inflammatory and exceeded the bounds of judicial propriety. Here is part of Ingham's summation:

Fielden and Parsons have said that they would like to take a black flag and march up and down the avenues of the city and strike terror to the hearts of the capitalists. Why did they choose the black flag? The flag which represents their principles is the flag of the pirate, which now and always has meant, "No quarter"; a flag that means for men, death; for childhood, mutilation; for women, rape. That was the flag under which the defendants marched.

Grinnell went even further:

The proof has been submitted; everything has been done for the defense that could be done. Gentlemen, it is time in all conscience that you did have a judgment; and if you have now prejudice against the defendants under the law as the Court will give it to you, you have a right to have it. Prejudice! Men, organized assassins, can preach murder in our city for years; you deliberately hear the proof and then say that you have no prejudice! . . . Gentlemen, you stand between the living and the dead. You stand between law and violated law. Do your duty courageously, even if that duty is an unpleasant and severe one.

There has been much criticism of Judge Gary's instructions to the jury. Practically all the instructions on behalf of the State were literal copies of instructions that had previously been given over and over again in murder prosecutions and had been expressly approved by the Supreme Court. The special instructions relating to the law of conspiracy were clear and accurate expressions of the law of Illinois. The Court refused to instruct in accordance with the defense theory that the State was obliged to prove the identity of the bomb thrower, holding that since several counts of the indictment charged that the bomb had been thrown by a person unknown, the jury were at liberty to find from the evidence either that Schnaubelt threw it or that it was thrown by some unidentified person acting in concert with the defendant conspirators.

The jury retired to consider their verdict on August 19—nearly two months after the trial started. After three hours' deliberation they reached a unanimous verdict finding all the

defendants before the Court guilty of murder as charged. On August 20 the penalties of Spies, Schwab, Parsons, Fielden, Engel, Fischer and Lingg were fixed at death; Neebe was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in the penitentiary.

A motion for a new trial was made in due course and overruled. The defendants were sentenced in accordance with the verdict of the jury. An appeal was promptly taken to the Supreme Court of Illinois. In the Supreme Court there was an addition to the list of defense counsel—Leonard Swett, one of the ablest and most resourceful lawyers at the Illinois bar. Captain Black and Messrs. Zeisler and Salomon also appeared and argued for the defendants. The State was represented by the same counsel as in the lower court, with the addition of Attorney General George Hunt.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, rendered September 14, 1887 after elaborate written briefs and oral arguments, takes up the first 267 pages of Volume 122 of *Illinois Reports*. After a meticulous and exhaustive review of all the evidence, it held:

(1) That all the defendants were associated together, and were dominating members of the International Arbeiter Association.

(2) That that association was unlawful, its avowed purposes being to destroy the constitutional right of individual property ownership, to overthrow the government and to establish communism.

(3) That the means to accomplish the association's purposes, proposed to be used and used by members of the association, contemplated and involved the use of violence to destroy private property and kill those who wanted to protect it.

(4) That the riot at the Haymarket on May 4, 1886 occurred as a planned incident in the general conspiracy of the members of the International Arbeiter Association to overthrow the government, abolish private property and establish a communal state without law.

(5) That each of the defendants had an assigned part, which he carried out; and the death of Patrolman Degan was the direct consequence of their concurrent acts.

The opinion carefully reviewed and assembled the evidence as to each defendant, and concluded it was sufficient to establish, beyond a reasonable doubt, that each defendant was guilty of a conspiracy to murder, and guilty of the specifically charged murder of Patrolman Degan.

Answering the heavily stressed point that it was not shown that any of the defendants had any connection with the throwing of the bomb which had killed the seven policemen, the Court found:

(1) That Lingg had been selected by his fellow-conspirators to manufacture dynamite bombs.

(2) That bombs traced to the possession of Lingg and Spies were identical with the bomb which had been thrown and exploded in the Haymarket on May 4.

(3) That there was evidence from which the jury could properly conclude either that Schnaubelt or some unknown agent of the conspirators threw the bomb.

(4) That under the law as to the admissibility of evidence under the particular form of the indictment (in the alternative) the jury could find a verdict of guilty based upon either finding.

All the specific points raised by the defendants were dealt with; the Court, with ample citations of supporting authority, held there had been no prejudicial error in (a) overruling the motions of certain defendants for separate trials; (b) the disposition of challenges for cause in the empaneling of the jury; (c) the admission of incompetent evidence; or (d) the giving or refusing instructions.

The seven justices unanimously concurred in the opinion, written by Justice Benjamin D. Magruder, that the judgment of the Criminal Court of Cook County should be affirmed.

The decision of the high court was hailed far and wide as a victory for law and order and as a just disposition of the case. There were, however, dissenting voices. Few if any disputed the evidence that the defendants were anarchists, bent on destroying private property and overthrowing the government by violent means; but there was criticism of the verdict and judgment on the grounds that the defendants had not had a fair trial. Some held that in the absence of positive proof as to who threw the bomb, and that the thrower was an agent of the defendants, the defendants were entitled to an acquittal on the charge of murder. The best answer to this, it seems to me, is found in the bench statement of Justice John H. Mulkey at the time the opinion was delivered. This is his statement, quoted at the conclusion of the formal opinion:

Not intending to file a separate opinion, as I should have done had health permitted, I desire to avail myself of this occasion to say from the bench, that while I concur in the conclusion reached, and also in the general view presented in the opinion filed, I do not wish to be understood as holding that the record is free from error, for I do not think it is. I am nevertheless of the opinion that none of the errors complained of are of so serious a character as to require a reversal of the judgment. In view of the number of defendants on trial, the great length of time it was in progress, the vast amount of testimony offered and passed upon by the court, and the almost numberless rulings the court was required to make, the wonder with me is that the errors were not more numerous and more serious than they are. In short, after having carefully examined the record, and having given all the questions arising upon it my very best thought, with an earnest and conscientious desire to faithfully discharge my whole duty, I am fully satisfied that the conclusion reached vindicates the law, does complete justice between the prisoners and the State, and that it is fully warranted by the law and the evidence.

There remained one last legal recourse—an application to the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of error to review the decision of the Illinois Supreme Court. The lawyers, recruited to aid Saloman and Black for this task, though all able men, were a strange collection: John Randolph

Tucker, who had served as Attorney General of Virginia during the Confederacy; Roger A. Pryor, ex-Confederate brigadier general; and General Benjamin F. Butler, the Yankee firebrand who had won the undying hatred of the South by his tyrannical administration of the conquered city of New Orleans. State's Attorney Grinnell and Attorney General Hunt appeared for the State of Illinois. The petition was promptly heard by the full court. The arguments lasted three days. The issue before the Supreme Court was a narrow one: Was there a federal constitutional question involved?

The defense, handicapped by a trial court record made by other lawyers who clearly had not apprehended a possible appeal to the United States Supreme Court, made the most of a weak situation. They contended there had been a violation of four amendments: the Fourth, in that some of the evidence against some of the defendants had been obtained by an illegal search without warrant; the Fifth, in that Spies had been compelled to give evidence against himself; the Sixth, in that because of a failure by the trial court to recognize proper challenges of jurors for cause the defendants had been deprived of a trial by an impartial jury; and the Fourteenth, in that because of the foregoing, the defendants were about to be deprived of their lives and liberties without due process of law.

The Supreme Court made short work of the claims that the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendments had been violated. Adhering to a long line of established precedents, it held that those amendments were limitations upon the federal government and applied only to prosecutions in the federal and not in the state courts. In connection with the claim that the Fourteenth Amendment (violation of due process) had been infringed, the Court considered a number of specific points. The first of these was the contention that the trial court had improperly overruled the defense's challenge of a large number of jurors for cause. The Court examined the record as to only two jurors, because all the others challenged for cause

had been eliminated from the jury by peremptory challenges; but when the challenges for cause as to these last two were denied, the defense, having exhausted its 160 peremptories, was obliged to accept them, and they served on the jury. Each of them—T. E. Denker and H. T. Sanford—had said in his *voir dire* examination under oath that he had formed an opinion of the guilt of the defendants from what he had read in the newspapers, that he still held that opinion and would carry it with him into the jury box; however, in response to subsequent questions by the state's attorney and the judge, both said they believed they could set aside that opinion and decide the case solely on the evidence as it came from the witnesses, and the instructions on the law as they came to them from the Court. These answers brought the jurors strictly within the Illinois statute, and for that reason the challenges for cause were overruled by the trial court. The defendants' lawyers contended before the Supreme Court that the examination of these jurors, taken in its entirety, showed that the defendants had been compelled to accept jurors who had already prejudged the case, and a jury which included such men constituted a lack of the "due process of law" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which, it was conceded, was an express limitation upon the states. The Supreme Court, however, ruled that on the whole record it was "unhesitatingly of the opinion" that the defendants had not been deprived of a trial by a fair and impartial jury, and had not been denied due process of law.

The claim that Spies had been compelled to give evidence against himself was based on the allegation that he had been subjected to improper and prejudicial cross-examination. He had testified in his own defense. Under the law he was not required to take the stand, and had he not done so it would have been gross error for the prosecution to have referred to the fact that he had not. Having taken the stand, however, he was legally subject to cross-examination, the same as any other witness. The cross-examination was searching and exhaustive,

but the Supreme Court held that the determination of the local courts as to what was and what was not proper cross-examination was a matter of local law, not subject to review by a federal court.

The point that a letter incriminating one of the defendants had been obtained by illegal search without warrant was shortly disposed of on the ground that such a contention, to have validity, must first have been raised in the trial court. No such point was there made. Similarly the final and rather diaphanous point that Spies, a German citizen, and Fielden, a British subject, were entitled to special procedural treatment by virtue of the United States' treaties with Germany and Great Britain, not having been raised in the trial court, could not be considered by the Supreme Court on appeal.

None of the points presenting a federal constitutional question, the petition for writ of error was denied by a unanimous Court. This decision of the Supreme Court on every question was supported by a long line of unquestioned precedents. The core of the whole matter was the maintenance of the fundamental theory of the supremacy of state law in matters of local concern, and that the decision of the highest court of a sovereign state could not be overridden by a federal court unless it clearly appeared that the result of such decision had been to deprive a person of his life, liberty or property without due process of law. Even the sharpest critics of the ultimate consequences of the Spies trial have never questioned the soundness of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in refusing to review the case.

Now only one hope was left—a petition for executive clemency. Governor Richard J. Oglesby was literally deluged with petitions that the sentences be commuted to terms of imprisonment; few suggested pardons. The petitions came from all sorts of people in all walks of life—from leaders in commerce, labor, literature and the arts. There were also many voices loud in protest against any interference with the sen-

tences, with letters by the thousands from men and women of equal prominence.

On November 10, while an excited public was awaiting the Governor's decision, a bomb similar to the one which had been thrown in Haymarket Square was smuggled into Lingg's cell. He exploded it and blew his head off. A few hours later Oglesby commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment, but rejected the pleas on behalf of Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Engel, who were executed in the early morning of November 11, 1887.

Fielden, Schwab and Neebe served five years. In November, 1892 John P. Altgeld, a former judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, was elected governor. One of his first official acts was to announce his intention of reviewing the record of their trial. "If I decide they were innocent," declared Altgeld, "I will pardon them, . . . no matter what happens to my career." His eighteen-thousand-word message was a thorough review of the evidence, couched in language of unrestrained passion. He declared the eight defendants had been "rail-roaded"; the jury which tried them had been "packed"; their constitutional rights had been violated, improper evidence admitted, erroneous instructions given and proper ones refused, and that Judge Gary had conducted the trial "with a malicious ferocity . . . unparalleled in history." Altgeld granted all three prisoners an immediate and unconditional pardon. His fear of the effect of his act on his career was justified. He was beaten when he ran for re-election, never again sought public office, and died a frustrated and broken man.

The trial of the anarchists has continued a subject of active dispute up to the present. There are those who see in the execution of Spies and his companions a trial by alleged judicial process which was in fact a lynching of innocent men under the forms of law, but controlled by a whipped-up, hysterical public opinion. On the other hand, there are those who feel that even if Spies or some one of his co-defendants did not

actually hurl the murderous missile that took seven lives, the act was directly incited by their inflammatory writings and speeches, and that their prompt conviction and punishment forestalled a reign of anarchy and terror in Illinois.

There is a geographical rallying point for each group. At the north end of Union Park in Chicago one can see a weather-beaten monument commemorating the seven policemen who lost their lives in line of duty. Farther west, in Waldheim Cemetery in Forest Park, is a monument as large and as costly as that in Union Park—a bronze figure of Justice crowning a dying worker with a wreath of laurel, dedicated to Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer. Every year on May 4, the anniversary of the Haymarket Riot, the various police organizations, with appropriate ceremonies, place a wreath at the foot of the monument in Union Park. Every year just after November 11, the anniversary of the execution of Spies and his three associates, a wreath is found on the monument at Waldheim—but who places it there has never been determined, or at least, if known, has never been published.

AGRARIAN RADICALISM IN ILLINOIS' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1862

BY STANLEY L. JONES

THE state constitutional convention that met at Springfield in January, 1862 was the rallying point for the last outburst of Jacksonian agrarian radicalism in Illinois. As such it illustrated the vitality of the Jacksonian movement in the West, while it was also a portent of the Granger and Populist movements. The most important of the many facets of this agrarian radicalism was its opposition to banks and corporations.¹

Since territorial days Illinois had experimented with banking systems in periods of prosperity only to have them fail in time of depression. Recurring panics and bank failures had caused acute hardship throughout the state and had convinced the people that banks were, indeed, nefarious instruments of a group of ruthless monopolistic capitalists, as asserted by the followers of Jefferson and later by the Jacksonian Democrats.

Illinois farmers, particularly in the southern part of the

¹ Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois, from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago, 1854), 282.

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state, saw state banking systems as contributing to the growth of a commercial and industrial society in which the small farmer and businessman would be at a great disadvantage. Conversely, in the eyes of the inhabitants of urban areas, particularly in northern Illinois, rapid commercial and industrial growth was the paramount object. Therefore they tended to favor the establishment of banks, which were needed to achieve this. The Democratic Party was frequently associated with the anti-bank movement, while most Whigs and Republicans favored banks.

The delegates to the previous constitutional convention, in 1847, were still experiencing the effects of a long and severe depression. The banking system created in the mid-thirties had failed, and since 1842 there had been no bank in operation in the state. The anti-bank faction had advocated the election as delegates those men who were opposed to banks.² In the convention an intense struggle occurred between pro-bank and anti-bank groups; and the new constitution provided that banks should not be set up in Illinois unless the legislation providing for them should be approved by the people at a general election.³ No action was taken until 1851, when a general law permitting the creation of banks with the power of issuing circulating notes based on state and national government securities was passed by the General Assembly and approved by the electorate.⁴ Democratic Governor Augustus C. French's veto of this bill was the signal for a concerted attack upon it by anti-bank groups.

With but few exceptions the counties south of Sangamon County voted against the banking bill in 1851, while those north of Sangamon rolled up heavy majorities for it.⁵ The controversy over the bill split the Democratic Party in Illinois,

² *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Aug. 27, Sept. 24, 1845; *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Oct. 16, 1846.

³ Arthur C. Cole, ed., *Constitutional Debates of 1847* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XIV, Springfield, 1919), 694.

⁴ *Public Laws of Illinois*, 1851, 163-75.

⁵ Official election returns, Nov. 24, 1851, Archives, Illinois State Library.

as northern Democrats hesitated to follow French's lead in his attack upon it. The pro-bank faction gained control of the party's nominating convention in 1852, and signaled its ascendancy by nominating Joel A. Matteson of Joliet for governor.⁶ In the next few years a number of banks appeared in Illinois under the provisions of the general banking law; the people of the state were more prosperous; and anti-bank sentiment subsided.

The agrarian radicalism of which it had been a part, however, continued to assert itself in the political life of the state. Illinois farmers had always distrusted corporations. In the prosperous mid-1850's the General Assembly created by special act scores of new corporations at each session, although the Constitution of 1848 denied them the power to establish corporations by special legislation except "in cases where, in the judgment of the General Assembly, the objects of the corporation cannot be attained under general laws."⁷ Representatives from agricultural areas looked upon the growth of these corporations with suspicion.⁸

Another important issue during this decade was the Illinois Central Railroad. The most urgent problem related to the road's financial obligation to the state.⁹ It was suspected of attempting to evade the payments required by the charter of 1851. In the 1858 campaign the supporters of both Lincoln and Douglas attempted to discredit the opposing candidate by suggesting that he had helped the Illinois Central to attain a privileged position in Illinois.¹⁰ Other railroads, too, were accused of refusing to pay debts which they had incurred for wages or materials. There was already widespread discontent

⁶ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Apr. 28, 1852; *Illinois Journal* [Springfield], May 10, 12, June 13, 1852.

⁷ Emil J. Verlie, comp., *Illinois Constitutions* (Ill. Hist. Colls., XIII, Springfield, 1919), 84.

⁸ *Ill. State Register*, Jan. 30, 1861; *Ill. State Journal*, Feb. 6, 1861.

⁹ W. H. Osborn to Thomas E. Walker, Dec. 19, 1861, President's Letter-Book, Illinois Central MSS, Newberry Library; *Ill. State Register*, Jan. 7, 1862.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1858; *Greenville Advocate*, Oct. 28, 1858.

with the freight rates of the railroads, and they were accused of charging unequal rates between equidistant points. As a result demands were made for state control.¹¹

The panic of 1857 caused the failure of many Illinois banks and revived anti-bank sentiment. The secession movement following the election of 1860 produced a situation which destroyed confidence in the Illinois banking system. The amount of bank money in circulation had been increased rapidly after 1857, chiefly through the issues of poorly supervised banks located in isolated rural areas.¹² A large share of this paper was based on the securities of the seceding southern states.¹³

The General Assembly of 1861 attempted to reform the Illinois banking system and adopted an act for the creation of a new system of branch banking on a specie basis.¹⁴ The constitution required the submission of the latter measure to the people in the next general election. Since this legislature also provided for the election in November of delegates to a constitutional convention to convene early in 1862, the people preferred to leave reforms in the banking structure to the convention and rejected the new banking law.¹⁵

In the early agitation for a constitutional convention it was evident that many wanted to incorporate in a new constitution sections concerning banks, the Illinois Central, and other economic problems.¹⁶ After a convention was approved in the election of 1860, and the legislature of 1861 provided for the election of its members, the radical elements concentrated their efforts upon securing the election of anti-bank delegates. The conservatives admitted the need of banking reform, but did

¹¹Petition of citizens of Town of Atlanta, Logan County, to General Assembly, 1859, Archives, Ill. State Lib.; *Chicago Journal*, Feb. 11, 1859.

¹²*Bankers' Magazine* [New York], XV (1861), 585.

¹³John Tribble to Lyman Trumbull, Dec. 18, 1860, Trumbull MSS, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *Chicago Journal*, Dec. 31, 1860.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 31, Feb. 18, 1861; *Ill. State Register*, Jan. 11, 1861.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1861; *Canton Register*, Oct. 29, 1861.

¹⁶*Fulton County Ledger* [Canton], Feb. 15, 1859; *Jonesboro Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1859.

not advocate the abolition of banks then in operation.

The Republican Party requested that partisanship be abandoned during the election, but the Democrats claimed that the failure of the "no party" advocates to take a firm stand on major economic issues required the continuance of their party organization. Sensing the welling discontent accompanying depression and bank failure, the Democrats prepared to regain authority in the state by a radical economic program.¹⁷ This program found a ready response among the people. Of seventy-five delegates elected to the convention forty-five were Democrats, twenty Republicans, and ten Union Party candidates, most of whom voted with the Democrats on economic issues.¹⁸

Three members of this convention had been in the constitutional convention of 1847: James W. Singleton of Adams County, Anthony Thornton of Shelby, and Thomson R. Webber of Champaign. Others who could look back on careers of public service were ex-Governor Augustus C. French; John Wentworth, Chicago editor and politician; William A. Hacker, president of the convention; and Alexander Campbell of La Salle, a Republican with radical agrarian views. The convention was controlled by a bipartisan group who had grown up in the Jacksonian tradition and were prepared to apply these principles to the problems of Illinois in 1862.

The ascendancy of Democrats and radicals in the convention did not at first alarm the conservatives in the state. On January 7 the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield (Republican) characterized the assembling delegates as "leading citizens of the State, of well known ability and conservative tendencies," and did not believe that "any radical movement will be attempted." After the convention had been in session a few days, however, the *Journal* concluded that it was "not a Con-

¹⁷ *Chicago Democrat*, July 24, 1861; *Ill. State Register*, July 27, Aug. 13, 16, Oct. 3, 1861.

¹⁸ O. M. Dickerson, *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862* (*The University Studies*, I, no. 9, Urbana, 1905), 7-8.

stitutional, but a *revolutionary* Convention . . . to make the Convention a mere machine for resuscitating and re-organizing the Democratic party in the State."¹⁹

The convention had in a very short time brought forth strikingly radical proposals on economic issues. This has been overlooked because of its attempts to interfere with the war program of Governor Richard Yates. The published reports of the convention make it evident that the Democratic majority in the convention was determined to embarrass and discredit Yates, criticizing his war administration and investigating the state's war finances; but there is little evidence upon which to conclude that they planned to usurp the governor's powers. In the field of banking their obstructive interference with Yates' administration was motivated by the desire to forestall impending financial disaster. In fact, one of the chief advocates of such interference was not a Democrat but the Chicago Republican, John Wentworth.²⁰

In the weeks immediately before the delegates assembled the banking structure of Illinois had reached its nadir. When the state failed to control the circulation of depreciated bank notes, Chicago businessmen adopted the practice of accepting such notes at their approximate market value rather than their face value, and periodically issued lists indicating the rate at which these notes would be accepted.²¹ Under this pressure, combined with a demand from the state auditor's office that banks whose note issues were based on the bonds of seceded states either replace these bonds with reliable securities or suspend operations, the circulation of Illinois bank notes declined from \$12,320,000 on December 1, 1860, to \$1,933,686 in January, 1862.²²

Under these circumstances it was inevitable that a large

¹⁹ *Ill. State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1862.

²⁰ Dickerson, *Constitutional Convention of 1862*, 52; Richard Yates to Russell Ward, March 24, 1862, Yates Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

²¹ *Chicago Democrat*, May 18, 1861; W. H. Osborn to Thomas E. Walker, May 29, 1861, Ill. Central MSS.

²² Auditor's statement, in *Ill. State Journal*, Jan. 6, 1862.

share of the attention of the convention should be directed toward framing the banking article of the new constitution. The question of prohibiting or permitting banks occasioned but slight debate. On January 21 the chairman of the committee on banks and currency, Norman H. Purple of Peoria, submitted an article providing that

No bank or banking corporation, nor any association or corporation with any banking powers, shall hereafter be created in this State. This section shall take effect and be in force immediately, as a portion of and as an amendment to the constitution of this State.²³

Though other sections of the bank article were drastically altered during the course of the debates, this section and the following one prohibiting the renewal or extension of bank charters previously granted stirred up little controversy and went into the final draft of the constitution as originally presented.

There was heated controversy over section three, stating that no paper money of a denomination less than \$10 could circulate in Illinois after the adoption of the constitution. The more radical anti-bank men wanted the circulation of all paper money prohibited at once. The convention adopted a compromise by which gradually within four years all paper money, except United States Treasury notes, would be barred from the state.²⁴

The radical anti-bank majority easily passed the banking article on March 3, 1862.²⁵ This article was to be submitted to the people separately, thus giving the electorate an opportunity to reject it without defeating the entire constitution.

In the early part of the convention the anti-bank men were confused about the position that they should take on the new treasury notes being issued by the federal government. These appeared dangerous because they were paper money and

²³ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, Convened at Springfield, January 7, 1862* (Springfield, 1862), 130-31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 566-68; *Ill. State Journal*, Feb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 26, 27, 1862.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1862.

issued by a Republican administration; on the other hand, the people, particularly in rural areas, were having difficulty in raising specie to pay taxes and clamored for the acceptance of treasury notes for that purpose. Faced with this demand, many anti-bank Democrats tried to persuade the convention to authorize the payment of taxes in the new medium. The state treasurer also asked the convention's committee on revenue about accepting treasury notes for taxes, but the committee refused to make a recommendation; and when a resolution of the convention directed the committee to prepare a report approving such acceptance, the committee reported that since Congress had not yet made treasury notes legal tender, the convention should not act. Although Congress did make the treasury notes legal tender before the adjournment of the convention no further action was taken.²⁶

The convention's suspicion of railroads was fully equal to its suspicion of banks. Most of the hostility was directed toward the Illinois Central, which had delayed its payments to the state. Its officers explained that because of reduced revenues caused by the war they could not pay until Illinois and the United States paid the I. C.'s claims against them. The payment proffered by the road was discounted in proportion to the depreciated value of the paper bank notes which it had accepted in the course of business.²⁷ The belief that these actions constituted a refusal to comply with the provisions of the railroad's charter increased the popular distrust of its motives. The Illinois Central, anticipating an extended discussion of the road in the convention, retained two agents at Springfield during most of the session.²⁸

The members who feared the Illinois Central insisted upon a constitutional provision requiring the road to comply with all the terms of the charter. After much maneuvering on the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 30, Feb. 20, 1862; *Ill. State Register*, Feb. 10, 13, 19, May 6, 8, 1862.

²⁷ *Convention Journal*, 115-19.

²⁸ W. H. Osborn to Thomas E. Walker, Dec. 19, 1861, Jan. 29, 1862, President's Letter-Book, Ill. Central MSS.

part of the railroad and extended debate in the convention, the article which was adopted stated that the General Assembly could not release the Illinois Central from money payments or taxes due the state under its charter. This left the way open for the railroad to seek legislative action concerning the sale of its lands, but in matters of finance and taxation it was left in the same position as before.²⁹

The practice by counties and towns of mortgaging themselves to finance the building of railroads resulted in the adoption of a provision denying the legislature the power to permit any county, city, town, township or school district of the state to give financial aid to any individual or corporation, and prohibiting such local jurisdictions from making subscriptions to the stock of any incorporated or other business association.³⁰

Complaints that railroad rates were unjustly high and discriminatory as between places led to resolutions asking that the convention consider ways and means of controlling rates and services. The convention refused to set up an instrument for railroad regulation, but the attention directed to this problem suggested that the delegates' constituents had strongly felt grievances against the railroads.³¹

The legislature was directed to enact general laws for incorporation and was denied the power of incorporating by special laws.³² It was also empowered to alter, amend or repeal charters granted under the new constitution.³³ Also, any corporation previously chartered which did not begin operations within one year after the adoption of the constitution

²⁹ Osborn to A. S. Hewitt, March 24, 1862, *ibid.*

³⁰ *Convention Journal*, 1081-82.

³¹ *Ill. State Journal*, Jan. 16, 22, Feb. 6, March 28, 1862. On Jan. 23 Perry A. Armstrong introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the committee on railroad corporations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of creating a board of railroad commissioners, who shall have the supervision of tariffs and fare on the several railroads of this state, and may also regulate, as far as practical, the time tables and connections of the several railroads, and perform such other duties as may, from time to time, be required of them by law." *Convention Journal*, 148.

³² *Ibid.*, 1092-93.

³³ *Ibid.*, 832-33.

was to forfeit its charter.³⁴ The legislature was directed to pass a law to exempt from forced sale or levy "a homestead to every householder having a family."³⁵ There was discussion of the advisability of requiring the legislature to enact laws to control the rate of interest, but no action was taken.³⁶

Republican opposition both inside and outside the convention gradually stiffened. An attempt at the end of January to adjourn the convention to a later date received only slight support. As the end neared most of the Republican members withdrew, despairing of any success in writing their views into the constitution. On March 22, when the convention voted on the question of accepting or rejecting the completed constitution, only forty-six members were present, forty-two of whom voted for it.

Eventually fifty-four delegates signed the constitution, but the remaining twenty-one (mostly Republicans) refused to affix their signatures.³⁷ This was consistent with the Republican strategy of discrediting the Democratic majority by treating their work as disloyal and treasonable. The Democrats attempted to gain public approval of the constitution by emphasizing the provisions for economic reform, calling it the "People's Constitution."³⁸ Both parties were aware of the economic discontent in Illinois, but the Republicans feared "that in the zeal of our people to kill the Banks they will swallow all the enormities which have been concocted."³⁹ The *Peoria Union* summed up the economic arguments of the advocates of the new constitution:

Well may it be called the "poor man's constitution," for it protects him against chartered monopolies and monied aristocracies, chartered privileges and special legislation, speculations and plundering; it puts all

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1045-46, 1092-93.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 610, 614, 867, 897, 978, 1095.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 410, 900.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1114-15; *Ill. State Journal*, Apr. 2, 1862.

³⁸ *Illinois Statesman* [Bloomington], Apr. 11, 1862.

³⁹ S. M. Willson to Richard Yates, March 19, 1862, Yates Papers.

men upon an equal footing. . . . By it the mechanic is secured for his labor, the poor man his homestead and all their just rights, allowing no one special privileges to the exclusion of others.⁴⁰

The opponents of the constitution rarely attempted to criticize its banking and corporation articles; but when they did, it was on the principle that the state could not advance commercially or industrially without banks, paper currency, and corporations with charter privileges. The *Chicago Post* editorialized:

We are a great commercial State. This Constitution fetters commerce; cuts off the avenues of trade; blocks up the channels of communication with other States; discourages the investment of capital; drives away manufacturers; stops internal improvements; paralyzes enterprise; turns away from us the tide of immigration, and scandalizes us before the world.⁴¹

At the election on June 17, 1862, Chicago gave heavy majorities for the constitution and the article banning banks. The *Chicago Journal* stated that the cry "Down with stump-tail!" had caused the people to vote for the constitution.⁴² When it became known that both the constitution and the banking article had been defeated, the *Journal* and *Tribune* both attributed it to the superior intelligence of the "rural voters."⁴³ The rural counties in southern and central Illinois, however, like the Chicago workingmen, had voted for the banking article and the constitution.

In general the pattern of voting on the banking issue in 1862 was like that of 1851. In 1862, however, Jo Daviess, Cook, Will, Sangamon and a tier of counties in western Illinois as far north as Peoria also gave majorities for the banking article; while sixteen counties⁴⁴ south of Springfield voted against it. There were fewer votes cast on the banking article than on the constitution, but the former received more votes

⁴⁰ Reprinted in *Ill. State Register*, May 16, 1862.

⁴¹ Reprinted in *Ill. State Journal*, June 16, 1862.

⁴² *Chicago Journal*, June 18, 1862.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; *Chicago Tribune*, June 20, 1862.

⁴⁴ These counties were Bond, Clay, Coles, Douglas, Edgar, Edwards, Hardin, Jefferson, Lawrence, Massac, Perry, Pope, Richland, Wabash, Wayne and White.

than did the constitution and had many less cast against it. The majority against the constitution was 16,051, but the banking article was defeated by only 3,181 votes out of a total of 256,877.⁴⁵ The attempt to restore Illinois to an agrarian economy modeled on the economic ideals of Jacksonian Democracy had almost succeeded.

⁴⁵ Official election returns, June 17, 1862, Archives, Ill. State Lib.

In Memory of

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Illinois State Historical Society

CHARLES G. DAWES AND THE MCKINLEY CAMPAIGN

BY JOHN E. PIXTON, JR.

IN JANUARY, 1895 Charles G. Dawes moved to Evanston, Illinois after seven years of practicing law in Lincoln, Nebraska. Dawes, just thirty years old, had acquired productive property valued at nearly a quarter-million dollars, including interests in gas plants in La Crosse (Wisconsin), Akron (Ohio) and Evanston.¹ Gregarious, forceful in manner and with a family tradition of interest in public service, his political ambition found its first fulfillment in the 1896 Republican campaign in Illinois.

Dawes, whose father had served with McKinley in Congress from 1881 to 1883, was a spectator at the Republican convention of 1892 and remarked, "for a few minutes it looked like McKinley."² The younger Dawes introduced some

¹ Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1950), Jan. 23, Mar. 10, 1896 (hereafter cited as *McKinley Years*); Dawes to E. C. Dawes, Jan. 4, 1895. All letters by Dawes (letterpress copies) and all letters to him (originals) are located, unless otherwise noted, in the Dawes Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University. The author wishes to thank Mr. Joseph S. Komidar and his staff for their kind assistance in the use of the collection.

² Dawes, "Journal for 1892" (June 8, 10), Dawes Papers.

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of his Nebraska friends to the Ohio man. During 1894 Dawes began promoting McKinley in Nebraska, and shortly after moving to Evanston he met Mark Hanna and was commissioned to take charge of McKinley's affairs in Illinois. In November he wrote his father, "I am canvassing Illinois for the Governor. . . . McKinley is absolutely certain of that nomination. They can't beat him."³

While McKinley might win the 1896 nomination without Illinois, his success seemed certain if that state could



CHARLES G. DAWES (ca. 1896)

be secured. Illinois chose its delegates to the national convention before most other states. Hanna called it "the 'battle royale' of the Campaign and the most *important* convention. Instructions for McKinley means nomination sure."⁴ The McKinley men attempted to get Chicago selected for the national convention to draw Illinois support. St. Louis, which offered a larger financial guarantee, was chosen, but this

was the only battle the McKinley forces lost.⁵

The political season for Illinois Republicans began with

³ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Mar. 10, 1895; Dawes to Rufus R. Dawes, Nov. 18, 1895 (from material in the possession of Dawes' sister Mrs. Arthur G. Beach of Evanston, hereafter cited as Beach Collection).

⁴ Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912), 183; Hanna to Dawes, April 23 [1896].

⁵ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Nov. 17, Dec. 10, 1895.

a "love feast"—traditionally a session of peace and good will designed to reaffirm party solidarity and boost morale before the inevitable campaign squabbles produced by personalities and local animosities. Before this meeting assembled on January 28, 1896 in Springfield, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that an unnamed "resident" received letters from McKinley and Hanna announcing the former's bid for Illinois support and urging his friends to capture the "love feast." Whether or not this "resident" was Dawes, the McKinley managers' plans clearly included a demonstration at Springfield. Joseph P. Smith, an aide and speech writer for McKinley during his term as governor of Ohio, wrote Dawes urging a big turnout of McKinley men for the occasion, and came to Chicago in time to help get a boom under way. "They intend to carry the love feast off its feet," reported the *Tribune*.⁶

Illinois men were indignant at this "outside interference." Senator Shelby M. Cullom, the state's "favorite son," protested:

I have attended these Republican love feasts for twenty-five years, and I have never yet known one turned into a mere scramble of candidates for nomination for office. The purpose of these love feasts of the Republican Party is or ought to be in the interests of the party generally in the State.

Congressman William Lorimer expressed a similar view.⁷ The suspicious *Tribune* referred to Dawes darkly as "the representative of the Ohio Syndicate that owns the gas works in Evans-ton." Despite the warnings of Cullom and Lorimer, Dawes pressed a member of the state committee to allow favorable mention of McKinley at Springfield. On the eve of the love feast the committee voted that no speaker should be permitted to mention the name of any candidate. Though this rule was not scrupulously observed, it handicapped the McKinley supporters; the *Tribune* reported with evident satisfaction that the

⁶ Smith to Dawes, Dec. 30, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 24, 27, 1896.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1896.

noise for McKinley was "more of a chirp than a cheer." The real boom, it declared, was for Cullom.⁸

Chirp or cheer, the McKinley movement in Illinois had made an unpropitious beginning. Efforts by Dawes and Hanna to meet with Lorimer and National Committeeman T. N. Jamieson were unavailing. The regular Illinois party leaders adopted a distinctly hostile strategy. The Cook County congressional district conventions, not usually held until mid-April just before the state convention, were moved up to early February, shortening the time available to build McKinley followings in these conventions to demand instructed delegates to the state convention.⁹

Nevertheless the McKinley movement steadily gained strength. McKinley's qualifications for high office were his undistinguished service in Congress and as governor of Ohio, and the significant fact that he lacked mortal enemies. The popular support which developed for him, despite favorite sons with well-organized sectional backing, is a remarkable example of the power of a plausible idea coupled to fortuitous circumstances. The Democrats had tinkered with the tariff; hard times had followed; obviously, the cure was a return to protection. And who could better lead such a return than its original apostle, the architect of the earlier prosperity? The *Tribune* polled Illinois Republican editors in February: William B. Allison 4, Thomas B. Reed 7, Cullom 48, McKinley 84. This showing in the face of the opposition of the party organization and high office-holders was humorously summed up by Illinois Senator William Mason: "There ain't nobody for McKinley but the people!"¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 29, 1896; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Jan. 27, 1896. The *Chicago Times-Herald* of Jan. 28 called this decision a "gag law" and thought the enthusiasm for McKinley impressive. Dawes insisted that "McKinley swept the decks although our paper, the *Tribune*, lies about it." Dawes to Rufus R. Dawes, Jan. 30, 1896, Beach Collection.

⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 29, Feb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 1896; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Jan. 29, Feb. 3, 4, 1896. Dawes organized an "indignation meeting" to protest these "snap conventions" and demand their postponement.

¹⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1896; F. E. Coyne, *In Reminiscence, Highlights of Men and Events in the Life of Chicago* (Chicago: Excella Press, 1941), 116. A

McKinley's first appearance in Chicago during the campaign was at a banquet given by the Marquette Club. Dawes arranged interviews with him for Illinois politicians, including John R. Tanner, the heir apparent to the governorship. Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska presented him to over a thousand cheering diners as "that man whose name would be recognized as an American platform in itself." The title of McKinley's address, "Abraham Lincoln," afforded ample scope for him to extol the virtues of protection, "reciprocity," honest money, and "the Monroe Doctrine as Monroe himself proclaimed it."¹¹ The ruffled feathers of Illinois politicians were smoothed.

The McKinley forces had the arduous task of developing strength in rural areas. Dawes planned to secure instructed or sympathetic delegates to the state convention from as many counties as possible, to facilitate instructions for McKinley at the state convention and give his forces a majority in the congressional district conventions, each of which elected two delegates to the national convention. Though the state convention on April 29 technically could instruct only the four delegates-at-large, such instructions would add significantly to the momentum of the national movement. Connections with county leaders were established through businessmen's clubs and friends of McKinley. Generals Charles V. Pavey and John McNulta, supervised and to a great extent financed by Dawes, toured the state, attending county conventions and maneuvering for instructions to the delegates. Dawes also kept the "grass roots" movement informed of developments throughout the state, made policy decisions as they arose, occasionally supplied money, assured local politicians of McKinley's gratitude, and generally kept peace in the family. A speakers' bureau

better case might be made that the McKinley Tariff of 1890 contributed to the Panic of 1893 and the ensuing depression. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 made but few and slight downward revisions.

¹¹ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1896. "Reciprocity" was James G. Blaine's name for selling domestic surpluses for products not produced in the United States.

was established, McKinley Clubs sponsored, and literature and posters sent out. Dawes was also in charge of the McKinley organization in Nebraska.¹²

It was his fixed policy to forbid the McKinley movement to endorse a particular candidate for county delegate. "We have no wish," he said, "to interfere with the free expression of the will of the convention as to who shall be the individuals selected as delegates, feeling confident that the convention will select men who will represent the sentiment of the people and register its will by instructing for McKinley."¹³ Dawes was learning fast.

Opposition to McKinley in Illinois centered around Senator Cullom, the only native presidential possibility. This was encouraged by the *Tribune*, which repeatedly complained of the McKinley forces' interference in Illinois politics and their lavish expenditure of money. McKinley "offered me all sorts of inducements to withdraw," wrote Cullom later. "There was hardly anything in the Administration, or hardly any promise, he would not have made me if I had consented to withdraw."¹⁴ The Cullom movement, however, never had enough strength to exact any such pledge from McKinley. On March 2 Dawes told McKinley that he expected to secure instructions in Cullom's old congressional district; a report on March 9 confirmed the capture of pivotal Christian County; and on March 13 he wrote:

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:

The machine has "unconditionally surrendered." They had nothing left to surrender so far as that is concerned; but the notification of their desire to now assist us in our work for instructions is at least an evidence of the thoroughness of the victory of the people. You will receive instructions in the State Convention, and in fourteen, if not all, of the fifteen County [Congressional] districts. This result is in no way depend-

¹² Dawes, *McKinley Years*, 1896 *passim*; Dawes to Pavey, M. A. Hanna, C. A. Hanna, F. W. Collins and others.

¹³ Dawes to C. W. Twadell (Decatur, Ill.), Mar. 30, 1896.

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 9, 1896; Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1911), 273.

ent upon the attitude of Senator Cullom.

Our position must be one of "malice toward none, with charity for all." But I maintain and insist that your present prestige given you by the people in the face of the opposition of the individuals of the so-called machine, depends in no measure upon their present or future attitude, and negotiations and conferences with them are unwise, unnecessary and dangerous.¹⁵

The Lincolnian sentiment and the notice of the surrender of the local politicians must have been welcome to McKinley.

On March 29 Dawes went to Cleveland for a conference with McKinley, Hanna and Smith regarding an offer by Cullom to withdraw in return for certain concessions. McKinley declined because he proposed to have the nomination unmortgaged. On April 3 Hanna wrote: "It looks to me as if brother Cullom was determined to stay in the race, unless he made his own conditions, which at this time seems improbable." He urged Dawes nevertheless to press the negotiations and to assure "our Washington friend" of his good will.¹⁶

The progress of Dawes' county-by-county campaign is shown by memoranda attached to letters to Hanna, which may be tabulated as follows:

	March 18	March 28	April 17
Delegates Elected	765	935	1,219
Uninstructed	501	566	617
Endorsing Cullom	49	49	49
Endorsing McKinley	215	320	553

The total number of delegates to the state convention was 1,335.¹⁷

Nationally, as in Illinois, the question was not who was

¹⁵ Dawes to McKinley, Mar. 13, 1896; "Supplemental Report to M. A. Hanna on McKinley Situation in Illinois, Mar. 9th, 1896," p. 8. See also Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Mar. 9, 14, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 10, 1896. Cullom's district instructed its delegates for McKinley on March 31.

¹⁶ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Mar. 29, 1896; Hanna to Dawes, Apr. 3, 13, 1896. When Joseph G. Cannon's district instructed for McKinley, Hanna wrote Dawes (May 14) that it "may help Uncle Shelby to a conclusion." Federal Judge Peter S. Grosscup of the Northern District of Illinois was the intermediary.

¹⁷ Memoranda in Dawes to Hanna, dates indicated.

the strongest contender, but whether the opposition to McKinley would have any chance at all. Of the 918 delegates to the national convention, McKinley's Washington representative on April 20 claimed 376 were already instructed for the Ohioan.¹⁸ Thomas B. Reed of Maine and William B. Allison of Iowa thought this figure should be somewhat lower. But all the opposition candidates were less concerned about their own chances than about stopping McKinley.

In mid-April a circular signed by the Illinois president of the American Protective Association, a sort of holding company for the collective conscience of various organizations which deplored the heavy immigration of the period, proclaimed that "every prominent Papist identified with the Republican Party are working tooth and nail for McKinley. . . . The *Chicago Tribune* and the *Inter-Ocean* will cooperate with us in our efforts to prevent this Rape of Rome by the Republican Convention." Dawes thought the proper policy was "dignified silence," treating the charge—or the presumed odium attached to it—as ridiculous. "It is a question," he added, "whether or not the opposition of the A.P.A. is not as valuable to us as it is detrimental." His judgment proved sound. Hanna observed that since many Cook County delegates were Catholics, the A.P.A. manifesto might well work to McKinley's advantage. Even the *Tribune* defended him. By convention time he was conceded 640 of the 1,335 delegates.¹⁹

After a conference in mid-April with McKinley and Hanna, Dawes and McNulta called on Judge Peter S. Grosscup, Cullom's representative, and John R. Tanner, the leading candidate for the governorship, who promised fair treatment to the McKinley forces at the convention. Hanna advised hold-

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 20, 1896.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 27, 1896; McNulta to Dawes, n.d.; Dawes to James Boyle, Apr. 17, 1896; Hanna to Dawes, Apr. 18, 1896. Before Dawes' letter was received, McKinley's secretary, without his knowledge, issued a reply to the A.P.A. charges. Dawes to Smith, Apr. 17, 1896; Boyle to Dawes, Apr. 21, 1896. McKinley had had a brush with the A.P.A. in Ohio in 1893. H. H. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), 18.

ing an organization and strategy meeting just before the convention, and urged Dawes to "get our boys *enthused*."²⁰

The advice was unnecessary. Dawes had already notified his lieutenants of a caucus to be held at 8:30 P.M. on Sunday, April 26, in his room in the Leland Hotel in Springfield. About twenty-five were present. Dawes presented his plan: no contest should be made on the temporary or permanent organization, or on delegates-at-large. The McKinley forces would demand that the question of instructions should be voted on before the nomination of state officers and be unconnected with the candidacies of particular individuals. After some discussion Mayor George B. Swift of Chicago declared that Dawes was inexperienced and unfamiliar with political tactics; others were better qualified to decide on strategy and the decision should be postponed until they could be consulted.

Dawes seized this opportunity to assert his leadership. He "immediately rose and in a fifteen minute speech took issue squarely. It was a question of my life or death as a political manager." The caucus approved Dawes' rebuttal and promised to adhere to his policy. An effort the next day by Swift and some others to gather forces independent of Dawes' leadership broke up in disagreement, and the insurgents reaffirmed their loyalty to the McKinley movement. Cullom and Grosscup again appeared on the question of the former's withdrawal from the contest, but without encouragement from Dawes.²¹

Dawes and Tanner conferred on Tuesday about the order of business. A McKinley man was to move that action on instructions should follow the nomination of attorney general; this would be seconded by a machine man and made part of the regular order of business. When the question of instructions was taken up, two men on each side were to get fifteen minutes to speak. This agreement met Dawes' desire for as-

²⁰ Hanna to Dawes, Apr. 23, 1896.

²¹ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Apr. 12, 19 20, 26, 27, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 27, 1896; *Chicago Times-Herald*, Apr. 26, 27, 1896.

surance that the question of instructions would be considered and would not be put last where it might be defeated by a sudden motion to adjourn. Another caucus of the McKinley men unanimously ratified this arrangement. Dawes went to bed "happy and worn out. . . . I knew the battle was won." The *Tribune*, still holding out, reported this compromise as Tanner's "ultimatum" to the McKinley forces.²²

Wednesday, April 29, the first day of the convention, was given over to permanent organization and nomination of state officers. After General McNulta declined the honor offered by Dawes of leading the McKinley forces on the floor, William J. Calhoun of Danville, to the satisfaction of all, assumed the post. He introduced a resolution changing the order of business to that agreed upon by Dawes and Tanner, which was carried amid cheers. At six o'clock, with nominations for governor and lieutenant governor completed, news arrived that the Vermont Republicans had instructed for McKinley. According to the *Times-Herald* this development so alarmed the Cook County faction that a motion to adjourn was introduced and declared carried despite the fact that two-thirds of the convention voted against it.²³

After completion of the state ticket on Thursday Calhoun and a Cullom man jumped up on their chairs and demanded recognition. State Senator O. F. Berry, chairman of the convention, recognized the Cullom man who introduced a resolution calling for instructions for his candidate. When order had been restored, a spokesman for a group of northwestern Illinois counties offered an amendment substituting McKinley for Cullom. After the wild demonstration had been quieted, Calhoun seconded the amendment. In a short speech he declared that the people had decided that "protection is the measure and that William McKinley is the man of the hour."²⁴

²² *Ibid.*, Apr. 29, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 29, 1896; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Apr. 28, 1896.

²³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 29, 1896; *Chicago Times-Herald*, Apr. 30, 1896.

²⁴ *Chicago Record*, May 1, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1896.

A further amendment was offered commending Reed and Allison in the event that McKinley's nomination should fail at St. Louis.

Lorimer's Cook County faction, which desired uninstructed delegates, now moved to table all resolutions and amendments. Calhoun insisted that the motion to table was out of order because the agreed order of business called for a *vote* on instructions. After some discussion, it was decided to call the roll on the motion. Calhoun passed the word and the motion to table was defeated 832 to 503. The Cullom men withdrew their motion and offered another endorsing McKinley. This resolution passed.²⁵

The convention proceeded to the selection of delegates-at-large. Dawes' policy not to involve McKinley with personal political struggles was not abandoned now; he and Calhoun left the floor of the convention to emphasize their indifference to intrastate party rivalries.²⁶

The *Tribune* gave the credit for the McKinley victory to Calhoun, proclaiming him the "Hero of the Hour" who "rallied the disorganized forces on Tuesday out of the jaws of defeat."²⁷ The McKinley managers, the story said, had assumed "an arrogance and a dictatorial spirit" which roused the Illinois opposition, and even caused dissension in their own ranks. But when Calhoun arrived on Tuesday, declared the *Tribune*, this policy softened, misleading the opposition into thinking it a confession of weakness until too late. "Then they realized that a genius of a new political order was at the head of the other faction. . . . Illinois was lost to McKinley until Calhoun came to Springfield and took charge." Calhoun's arrival on the day that Dawes negotiated his compromise with Tanner lent plausibility to the *Tribune's* story.

Lorimer added some imaginative testimony: "When they

²⁵ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1896; *Chicago Times-Herald*, May 1, 1896.

²⁶ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Apr. 30, 1896; *Chicago Record*, May 1, 1896.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 1896.

agreed not to present their resolution [for instructions] until the State officers had been nominated we knew then all our chance of defeating instructions was gone. Some new man seemed to take charge of their fight. . . . W. J. Calhoun was the man."²⁸

Dawes characterized Calhoun's bearing as "magnificent" and paid tribute to his modesty, but also felt obliged to note that the McKinley army had been drilled for three days before Calhoun took charge. The change in policy which the *Tribune* thought so clever was part of Dawes' tactics.²⁹

Dawes had always a jaundiced eye for public acclaim—not that he did not enjoy it, but he realized its fleeting and often groundless character. It was the esteem and admiration of worthy colleagues that gave him satisfaction. "For whatever I have accomplished I am not liable to receive much public credit," he observed, "although had we failed, the responsibility of it would, with cheerful unanimity, have been accorded to me. . . . I have made some noble friends, a few enemies, and a reputation, with a few at least, of having the courage of my convictions and the interest solely of McKinley at heart." To General W. M. Osborne of Boston, McKinley's Eastern manager, Dawes wrote, "I thank you warmly for your kind words. My reward in these matters is largely the respect and commendation of men like yourself."³⁰

"For weeks," wrote the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent, "Illinois has been looked to generally as holding the key to the political situation, and all parties were agreed that the convention at Springfield practically would settle the nomination if it declared for McKinley." Another report declared "that the race was over unless something absolutely unfore-

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, May 1, 1896. Dawes had conferred with Tanner in Chicago on April 20 and in Springfield on April 27 and 28. See also Dawes to W. M. Osborne, May 4, 1896. Dawes wrote the account of April 26-30 in the *McKinley Years* from memory on May 1, a fact which the editor did not observe.

³⁰ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Apr. 30, May 2, 1896; Dawes to Osborne, May 4, 1896.

seen should intervene in the next six weeks." The *Tribune* observed editorially: "Although the vote of instructions for McKinley gave him only four more delegates, it at the same time gave an immense impetus to the movement in his favor." A colleague's congratulatory note to Dawes summed up the significance of the Illinois victory: "Even in the face of the opposition going back on their agreement and all their parliamentary legerdemain backed up by an unfair presiding officer, we knocked them out. We virtually nominated McKinley for president."³¹

After the convention Dawes visited his family in Marietta, Ohio for two days and then went on to Canton to see his chief. McKinley's greatest strength lay in his personal relationships. He inspired great personal loyalty and devotion; he never had a real political enemy. Dawes wrote in his journal:

After we got home the Governor [McKinley] took me aside and expressed his appreciation of what I had done for him in Illinois. He was quite in earnest. He wanted me to understand that he expected me to be a part of his administration. I declined to name any preference—leaving all to him. . . . He asked me the line of my ambitions, which I must admit are not modest. . . . It was with difficulty that I restrained my emotion as he spoke of his regard for me. I have come to think so much of the man that what he said went to my heart.³²

Earlier McKinley had written Dawes, "You have won exceptional honor. You had long ago won my heart."³³ Politics to some was still a lofty adventure in service and evoked the fundamental human sentiments.

On May 11 the Fourth Congressional District instructed its delegates for McKinley. This made thirty-four Illinois delegates to the national convention instructed for him and four-

³¹ *Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 2, 1896; W. H. Hainline to Dawes, May 2, 1896.

³² Dawes, *McKinley Years*, May 2, 1896. A like sentiment is apparent among those who rescued McKinley from debt in 1893. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding*, 11ff. See also *Mark Hanna: His Book* (Boston: Chapple Publishing Co., 1904), 48-53, and Theodore Roosevelt's message of Dec. 3, 1901 in James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1908* (Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1908).

³³ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, May 2, 1896.

teen uninstructed.³⁴ At last the battle for Illinois was over.

The issues of the campaign were shifting from protection to the slippery question of free silver. The Illinois Republican money plank read: "We favor the use of silver as currency to the extent only and under such restrictions that parity with gold can be maintained."³⁵ The *Tribune*, however, observed sagely: "He is very much mistaken who assumes that good times in this country began with the McKinley law of 1890 and because of it. Good times began with and because of specie resumption in 1879."³⁶

On the silver question McKinley's sentiments had varied from free coinage in 1878 to the double standard in the 1890's. Opposition papers were not slow to point this out. In April, 1895 an alleged interview reported McKinley as holding "soft" opinions on the currency question. Dawes promptly wrote his advice on the stand that should be taken.³⁷

When silver had first appeared on the Nebraska political scene in 1892 Dawes had made a "corking" speech against free silver and William Jennings Bryan.³⁸ At that time his stand derived more from instinct and party loyalty than conviction. But as his interests veered more and more toward finance, he gave the monetary problem serious study. In *The Banking System of the United States and Its Relation to the Money and Business of the Country* he attacked the basis of the silver claim—the assumption that the price of commodities depends on the total amount of money.³⁹

Prior to the Republican convention at St. Louis the money issue was purposely kept vague to capitalize on McKinley's former bimetallist reputation. Wyoming, for example, instructed its delegates both for McKinley and for free silver.⁴⁰

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1896.

³⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1896.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1896.

³⁷ R. H. Furst, "William McKinley on the Tariff and Monetary Policy" (type-written M.A. thesis, University of Chicago), 64; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Apr. 3, 1895.

³⁸ *Lincoln (Nebr.) Daily Call*, Nov. 4, 1892.

³⁹ Chicago: Rand McNally, 1894. See also Dawes to W. B. Shaw, Dec. 17, 1894.

⁴⁰ Croly, *Hanna*, 194. A similar observation was made in a dispatch to the

Dawes expressed his misgivings about this noncommittal attitude to a friend in La Crosse: "You must go down to St. Louis with me to help get the matter right."⁴¹

Convinced that silver, not protection, was the issue, the *Tribune* periodically reassured itself that McKinley was right on that question. His bimetallism, it was pointed out, had been prior to 1890 when the issue was not one of gold versus silver but of party unity. But many could not so easily explain the McKinley record; twenty-two state Republican conventions pronounced against the free coinage of silver. St. Louis would bring a showdown.⁴²

On May 28 a tornado struck St. Louis and inflicted 150 deaths and destruction running to \$15,000,000. Ten days later the party began to assemble. Delegates toured the debris of the tornado. Massachusetts threatened legal action when Negro delegates were denied accommodations. There was talk of moving the whole affair to Chicago. The national committee went to work settling the contested delegations.⁴³

When Dawes arrived on June 10 he found himself in the middle of a struggle over who should be the Illinois member of the national committee. Tanner and most of the Illinois delegation favored incumbent Jamieson. McNulta and Pavey pressed for Calhoun or Dawes, who, said the *Tribune*, "probably did more for Major McKinley in Illinois than any other man." Dawes dismissed this matter as "unimportant," but when Hanna arrived that evening he met the issue head-on in a "warm meeting" where he and Tanner exchanged epithets.⁴⁴ The matter remained unsettled.

New York Sun, reprinted by the *Chicago Tribune* of June 14, 1896. See also the *Nation*, May 21, 28, 1896; Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), I: 312; statement by Senator Lee Mantle of Montana in *Official Proceedings of the Eleventh Republican National Convention*, 1896, pp. 99-100.

⁴¹ Dawes to G. W. Burton, Mar. 8, 1896.

⁴² *Chicago Tribune*, May 20, 1896; H. T. Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1932), 484.

⁴³ *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 11, 1896.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 12, 13, 1896; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, June 10, 1896.

As the convention hour drew near silver and the vice-presidency were the only issues in doubt.⁴⁵ At a meeting on June 12, with ex-Governor William R. Merriam of Minnesota, Myron T. Herrick, Herman H. Kohlsaat, Melville E. Stone, Henry C. Payne, Dawes and a few others present, Hanna submitted a draft of the money plank which had been approved by McKinley. The word "gold," which had been crossed out of this draft, was reinserted at the conference. Dawes read a letter from G. M. Lambertson, an influential Nebraska railroad attorney, urging an unequivocal stand for gold. Others joined in urging Hanna to get off the fence. Since the plank was not announced until the report of the committee on resolutions, "gold" newspapers, Republican and Democratic alike, were critical of McKinley's ambiguous position up to convention time.⁴⁶

The convention convened shortly after noon on Tuesday, June 16. Since the outcome was certain, it was rather dull—"like a church meeting," said the *Tribune*. The first session was given over to the address of the temporary chairman and the announcement of committees. On Wednesday the permanent organization was set up with Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska as chairman and the report of the committee on credentials was adopted. On Thursday came the report of the platform committee. When the money plank was read the chairman was interrupted by a demonstration of approval lasting several minutes. Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado presented a minority report and then delivered his tearful farewell address. The majority report was adopted, a silver manifesto read, and the silver men withdrew amid a wild demonstration.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1896; Dawes wrote the account of June 5-19 on June 19. *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1896.

⁴⁶ Croly, *Hanna*, 197; H. L. Satterlee, *J. Pierpont Morgan, an Intimate Portrait* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), 316; Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding*, 34ff.; Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), 146; Dawes to Lambertson, July 1, 1896. In this letter Dawes said, "The plank [adopted at the meeting and subsequently at the convention] was practically the McKinley plank

McKinley's name was presented by Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio and he was nominated on the first ballot. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts moved that the nomination be made unanimous, which was promptly done amid great applause. Illinois had given 46 votes to McKinley and 2 to Reed.⁴⁷

On July 8 the Democrats assembled at Chicago. Dawes attended the opening session and remarked: "It is a remarkable gathering . . . controlled by a majority who while evidently conscientious and struggling after what they believe to be right, are in error and confusion." Aware of the oratorical powers of his old Lincoln compatriot, Dawes predicted to Hanna that Bryan would be nominated if he got a chance to make a speech. The next day he listened to Bryan fling silver's defiance into the faces of gold Democrats, and said, "His oratory was magnificent—his logic pitifully weak." Dawes, fresh from his own political success and only five years younger than the Commoner, could hardly have watched this performance without a quickening of his own ambition. "I could not but have a feeling of pride for the brilliant young man whose life for so many years lay parallel to mine, and with whom the future years may yet bring me into conflict as in the past." Clearly Dawes had set his sights high.⁴⁸

On the Sunday after his nomination McKinley heard a sermon on the text, "Make your calling and election sure." This was precisely his intention, and the first step was to organize a party executive committee to manage the campaign. McKinley and Hanna wanted Dawes on this committee, so he undertook to gain the confidence of Tanner and Jamieson to avoid further complications. It was then announced that

submitted by Mr. Hanna who was present." See also *Chicago Times-Herald*, June 13, 20, 1896.

⁴⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 1896; *Proceedings of the . . . Convention*, 25-101, 129.

⁴⁸ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, July 7, 8, 9, 1896. Although Dawes thought Bryan's oratory powerful enough to sway the convention, he believed the Commoner had no chance of being elected (*ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1896).

Jamieson would continue as national committeeman while Dawes represented Illinois on the executive committee. Jamieson's declared approval of Dawes allayed internal animosities.⁴⁹

The organization Dawes had built in Illinois was chiefly based on personal relations. The national campaign was primarily a matter of public relations, and a large number of departments was set up to minister to various segments of the public—Traveling Men, Colored Men, Wheelmen, Republican National League, Republican College League, German, Speakers, and Literature bureaus.⁵⁰

Dawes was promptly besieged by job-seekers; "met a hundred or so of people," he remarked with a mixture of amusement and annoyance, "all of whom had a plan of campaign involving their employment as an incident." By July 23 he had received over eight hundred applications for two hundred available jobs.⁵¹

As treasurer for the western campaign Dawes established a methodical checking and bookkeeping system modeled after that used in his Akron gas plant. "I propose," he declared, "that as far as I am connected with it, the campaign in the West shall be run honestly, and upon strict business methods. . . . I have selected my office force from business associates and not from politicians." This sentiment was subsequently expressed by the platitude: "more business in government and less government in business." To Dawes this meant honesty, efficiency and administrative responsibility with authority competent to carry it out. The years of "normalcy" were to give it a somewhat different, though certainly not new, emphasis.⁵²

Although estimates of Republican expenditures in 1896 have ranged all the way up to \$16,500,000, the Clapp commit-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, July 3, 4, 21, 1896; Dawes to Hanna, July 1, 1896.

⁵⁰ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, July 29, Aug. 20, 1896.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, July 24, 1896.

⁵² Dawes, *McKinley Years*, July 24, 29, 1896; Dawes to McKinley, printed in *ibid.*, 92.

tee in 1912 found the amount to be \$3,350,000. Dawes' official statement records an expenditure of a little over \$3,600,000. This was more than twice the amount spent in 1892, and was not exceeded until 1920, when the party assumed a debt of over \$1,000,000. The same committee estimated the Democratic expenditures in 1896 at \$675,000.⁵³

Dawes sent financial reports to Hanna every week. He occasionally added advice: "I impress on you the importance of setting aside good subscriptions equal in amount to the total outstanding liabilities of the Committee, from time to time, as a sort of trust fund which, *under no circumstances*, should be touched for current demands." Dawes assisted Hanna in raising money in Chicago. His ledger for the western committee headquarters lists the amount of all contributions received, whether paid in cash or by check, and the initials of the solicitor—"M. A. H[anna]" procured most of the large donations, but Volney W. Foster and Graeme Stewart, Chicago businessmen and later close friends of Dawes, were also energetic and successful in this work.

Dawes' Chicago office spent \$1,969,622, according to his report to Hanna on December 19. Of this \$483,512 was received by the western committee; the rest came from the New York headquarters. Over \$900,000 was allotted to state organizations; the literary bureau accounted for over \$500,000.⁵⁴

⁵³ The high estimate is reported in the *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., Apr. 18, 1910, p. 4931. See also Louise Overacker, *Money in Elections* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932), 71f.; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, 106.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 106; Dawes to Hanna, Nov. 21, Dec. 19, 1896. In "Ledger of Chicago Republican Headquarters for the Campaign of 1896," Dawes Collection, the contributions exceeding \$1,000—totaling over 77 per cent of the \$483,512 received by the Chicago headquarters up to Nov. 30—are listed and classified as follows:

Chicago banks: Corn Exchange National, \$5,500; Illinois Trust & Savings, \$5,000; Continental National, \$4,000; Merchants National and Bankers National, \$1,000 each; total \$16,500.

Stores: Marshall Field, \$3,000; Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. and The Fair, \$1,000 each; total \$5,000.

Industry: American Steel & Wire, \$50,000; Republic Steel, \$25,000; Swift & Co. and Armour & Co., \$8,000 each; American Shipbuilding (Cleveland), People's Gas Light Co. and Chicago Edison, \$5,000 each; Nelson Morris & Co., \$3,000; Chicago Telephone Co., \$2,500; total \$111,500.

Railroads: Chicago & North Western and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, \$50,000 each; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, \$30,000; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, \$25,000;

Many people, Dawes among them, gave their services without compensation and paid their own expenses. A few contributions may not have passed through the party treasurer's hands, and the expenses of small local groups often went unrecorded.

Dawes tried to see his duty independent of his friends. He wrote Alexander H. Revell, "I cannot tell you how unpleasant it is for me to be compelled to refuse the requests which are made of me to over-step the proper avenues of expenditure of the National Committee in favor of those in whom I have a great personal interest." Large contributions were turned over to him; to expend money without accounting for it would have been, if not immoral, unwise from a business point of view. There was at that time no legislation regarding campaign expenditures and no odium attached to spending as much as could be raised. The Executive Committee's task was to raise as much as possible, spend no more than was raised, and get maximum value for every dollar expended.⁵⁵

The amount spent in getting McKinley nominated should not be included in campaign expenditures. Hanna's biographer asserted that he bore nearly the whole expense of McKinley's nomination. Dawes' correspondence showing a pre-convention expenditure of about \$700 in Illinois affords a rough idea of nomination costs.⁵⁶

Pullman Co., \$10,000; St. Louis & Santa Fe, \$5,000; Chicago & Eastern Illinois, \$4,000; total \$174,000.

Businesses: Kipen & Love (Chicago), \$3,000; Manhattan Spirit Co. (Buffalo) and Rosenow & Co. (Chicago), \$2,500 each; Diamond Match Co. (Chicago), \$2,000; J. V. Farwell Co., \$1,500; Patten Bros., \$1,100; Sprague-Warner Co. and Auditorium Hotel, \$1,000 each; total \$14,600.

Personal: Stuyvesant Fish, New York, \$20,000; A. B. Campbell, Spokane, \$10,000; Charles C. Glover, Washington, and J. A. Spoor, \$5,000 each; Thomas Kearns, Salt Lake City, \$2,500; J. H. Moore, Charles Dick, D. Y. Hamilton, V. T. Joyce, Byron L. Smith, Frank O. Lowden, Henry C. Upham (St. Paul), John P. Hartman (Seattle) and Norman B. Ream, \$1,000 each; total \$51,500. Total of all contributions of \$1,000 or more: \$373,100.

⁵⁵ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 19, Oct. 1, 7, 12, 1896; Dawes to Revell, Oct. 2, 1896. Contributions not appearing in Dawes' ledger are attested in Dawes to Hanna, Oct. 1, 1896; Dawes to Barber Asphalt, Oct. 10, 1896; Dawes to R. R. Cable, Oct. 15, 1896; Dawes to Timothy B. Blackstone, Oct. 17, 1896.

⁵⁶ Croly, *Hanna*, 183, 185; Dawes to W. F. Calhoun, Feb. 24, 1896; Dawes to C. W. Pavey, Mar. 30, 1896; Dawes to E. C. DeWitt, Apr. 2, 1896; Dawes to W. F. Collins, Mar. 9, 1896.

Due to the payment of a debt of more than \$100,000 carried over from 1892, there was a deficit of \$86,676 for 1896. In 1900 a favorable balance was carried forward to 1904.⁵⁷

On several occasions Dawes remarked, "The outlook for money for campaign purposes for the committee is very poor. Our plans will have to be cut down." He wrote to McKinley that although "the interest of business men is greater in our contest, it is more difficult [than in 1892] for them to spare the money for subscriptions." Later he wrote Hanna, "Financial matters are in terrible shape. . . . Am alarmed at the situation." But this was little more than the healthy pessimism of the fund-raiser. Cornelius N. Bliss wrote Dawes: "You have done the work you undertook with great ability and with careful consideration for the financial conditions at this end. We all owe you a debt of gratitude. . . . I should have been unwilling to sit here with a stranger in Chicago running me in debt."⁵⁸

The Populist national convention at St. Louis on July 22 joined forces with the Democrats by naming Bryan as its presidential candidate; he was promptly dubbed the "Popocratic" candidate. The *Tribune* enjoyed itself immensely, poking pictorial gibes at Bryan, featuring the "Boy Orator" and his mascot the popocrat—a beast with a duck's body and the head of a mule. McKinley's likeness to Napoleon also afforded some amusement, though generally of a more dignified variety.

Nine sure gold states—mostly Eastern—had 117 electoral votes; ten likely ones, mostly in the Midwest, had 129. There were twenty certain silver states with 139 votes and six likely with 62. This was 246 to 201 in favor of gold.⁵⁹ The passion aroused over the theoretical issue of free silver is remarkable.

⁵⁷ Bliss' report, printed in Dawes, *McKinley Years*, 388, was in the form of a letter to Harry S. New of the Chicago headquarters. No trace of the original has been found among the Dawes Papers.

⁵⁸ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Aug. 24, 28, 1896; Dawes to McKinley, Aug. 1, 1896, printed in *ibid.*, 92f.; Dawes to Hanna, Aug. 24, 1896; Bliss to Dawes, Nov. 9, 1896.

⁵⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1896.

Insurance companies warned their policyholders that Bryan meant a fifty-three-cent dollar; railroad managers told their employees that free silver would halve their wages. It was even announced that the American Baptist Home Missionary Society was calling in church mortgages. The "Popocrats" were depicted as the party of "Rum, Robbery, and Repudiation." Sixty-eight thousand people turned out in Chicago on October 9 for a sound money parade, and 103,000 took part in a similar affair in New York on October 31. The *Tribune* posted election returns by means of "vitascope" at the Coliseum and at the corner of Dearborn and Madison streets. They were also announced hourly by coded firing of Roman candles—blue for McKinley, red for Bryan.⁶⁰

Dawes never faltered in his firm belief that McKinley would triumph, and looked forward to a new career in his administration. His confidence was not merely enthusiasm, but was compounded of spirit and reason. He wrote to his father that polls indicated a Republican majority of 60,000 in Chicago; as for Illinois, "my prediction is that the majority will be much more than 130,000 rather than less than that number." The actual Republican majority in Cook County was 69,910 and in the whole state 142,625. While the returns were coming in on November 3 he stated to the *Tribune*:

We have absolutely destroyed the groundwork of Populism by sweeping Nebraska, the home of the Popocratic candidate, and carrying everything before us in that belt extending from Indian Territory to Lake Superior. In the future the agitation for the free and unlimited coinage of silver must be confined to the mining States. . . . The interests of the workingmen and the manufacturers and the home owners of the United States have prevailed.⁶¹

Dawes had refused to make any claims to preferment, though McKinley invited him to do so. "Neither my regard

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, July 27, Aug. 5, 21, Sept. 22, Oct. 10, Nov. 1, 1896.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1896; Dawes to Rufus R. Dawes, Sept. 18, 1896 (Beach Collection); E. E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote 1896-1932* (Stanford University Press, 1934), 177f.; Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Oct. 1, Nov. 1, 1896.

for Governor McKinley nor my self-respect," he told F. W. Collins of Nebraska, "will allow me to instigate directly or indirectly any pressure in this connection." But it is clear that he had hopes of a cabinet post. To Joseph P. Smith he declared that "if no offer is made to me of a cabinet position, it will not be because of any want of sincerity in his [McKinley's] friendship, but because he believes the best interests of his country demand other action."⁶² On November 26 he wrote Perry Heath:

I feel that my chance of a cabinet position is gone judging from a letter received from Joseph P. Smith. He gives me to understand that the position of Private Secretary to the President is open to me. I wrote Hanna in the afternoon telling him of the tenders of support for a cabinet position which I was daily receiving from the leaders of all factions in Illinois. . . . In my letter to Hanna I said I did not wish to embarrass McKinley and would sacrifice this ambition if he thought best.

"You well understand," he had told Hanna, "that in politics, with me as with yourself, after the consciousness of having done some good for ones country and friends, the only satisfaction would be in a position which would add to ones personal prestige—in my case in Illinois." He saw no prospect of satisfaction or outlet for his talent as the President's private secretary, and declined the post. Hanna confirmed this anticipated disappointment two days later. On December 15 in an intimate talk, Dawes assured McKinley that nothing could alter his loyalty and friendship, least of all this disappointment; McKinley urged him to consider the position of Comptroller of the Currency.⁶³

In view of Dawes' battles against the railroads and his role as a "radical Republican" in Nebraska, it seems incongruous to find him laboring so hard for McKinley in the campaign against Bryan, the Populists, and free silver. He knew

⁶² Dawes to Collins, Nov. 14, 1896; Dawes to Smith, Nov. 14, 1896.

⁶³ Dawes, *McKinley Years*, Nov. 8, 26, 28, Dec. 15, 16, 1896; Dawes to Hanna, Nov. 26, 1896; Dawes to Heath, Nov. 26, 1896. Dawes, perhaps annoyed with himself for his untimely ambition, crossed out the entries for Nov. 26 and 28, though they are still easily readable.

there was much to be said for Populism; he had misgivings about protection, and no doubt saw much to admire in the Democratic platform.⁶⁴ But he was young and unwilling to set his judgment of matters on which he had no special competence against that of mature men who had his confidence and respect. Certainly he was convinced that free silver was a fraud. Material success and his developing business interests had made a conservative Republican out of a radical one. The voice of ambition, too, spoke clearly. Given his instinctive faith in McKinley and the McKinley breed of men, the campaign of 1896 was a chance to vindicate Dawes' faith in himself through service with potentialities commensurate with his ambition.

But he had not forgotten his fundamental concern for the common man. At a victory celebration his audience probably found his words a little disquieting:

It is deemed appropriate in political strife that victory be celebrated, and we are gathered here tonight for that purpose. . . . We must remember . . . that what we have won as a people in this campaign is only the opportunity to work out our own salvation.

My friends, this country is confronted with serious problems . . . poverty—almost famine—exists in many parts of our great cities. . . . As I have gone to and from my office in this great city I have been stopped by man after man, asking not for money, but, in God's name, for work.

We must now, as a party and as a people, turn from attacking the falsehoods of the demagogue to devising those means by which the man willing to work may find work. . . . In order to get any money, whether it is good money or bad money, men must get work.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ In a letter to his mother (Nov. 16, 1890, Beach Collection) Dawes characterized the McKinley Tariff as "the most damnable piece of legislation which this country has ever been burdened with."

⁶⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1896.

LINCOLN AND DANIEL WEBSTER

BY RICHARD N. CURRENT

TODAY Abraham Lincoln is well remembered—in Lincoln Day addresses and otherwise—while Daniel Webster has become by comparison almost a forgotten man. The two were not always so far apart in the memory of the American people. In 1900, when judges for the new Hall of Fame at New York University chose the greatest American of all time, George Washington was still first in the hearts of his countrymen with ninety-seven votes, and Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster were tied for second with ninety-six apiece.¹

Though Webster's and Lincoln's careers overlapped, their personal acquaintance was slight and, whether as human beings or as political symbols, their differences were striking. The one was known as the Godlike Daniel and the Defender of the Constitution, but he was known also as the defender of the moneyed interest of the North and, on occasion, of the

¹ Claude M. Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (2 vols., Boston, 1930), II: 375. For Webster's reputation and his significance for our time, see also Richard N. Current, *Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism* (Boston, 1955), 184-202.

Richard N. Current, formerly professor of history at the University of Illinois, is chairman of the History and Political Science Department, Woman's College, University of North Carolina. His Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism was published earlier this year. He completed the late Professor J. G. Randall's Lincoln the President: Last Full Measure, published this fall. This address was given at the forty-sixth annual Lincoln's Birthday exercises of Zeta Psi fraternity, University of Illinois, on February 12, 1955.

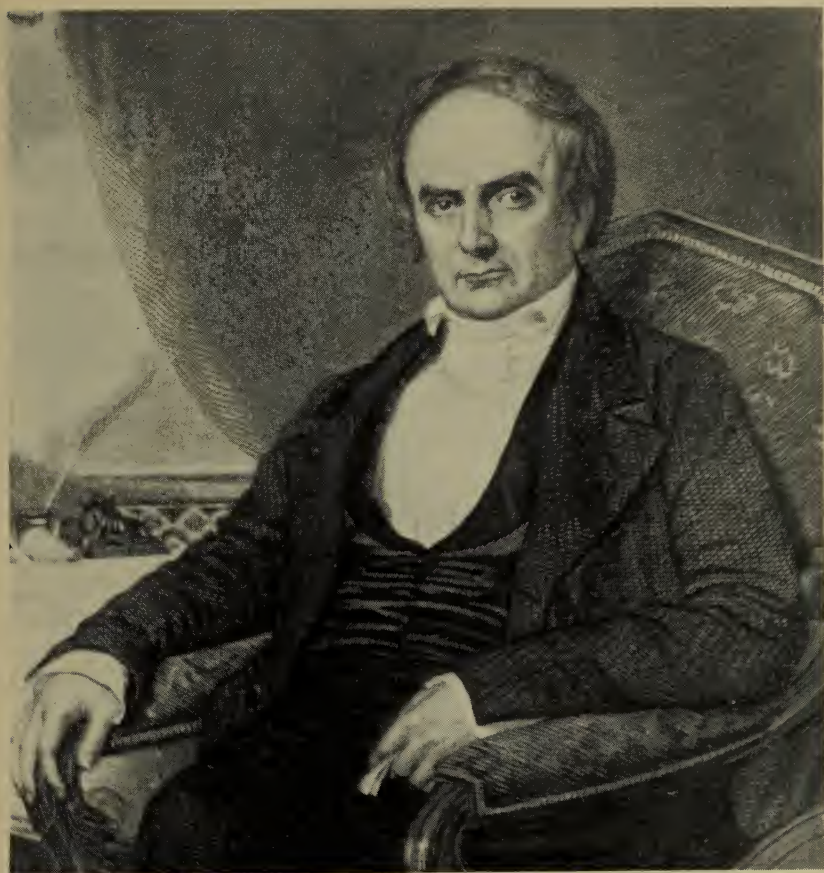
slavery interest of the South. The other was known as Honest Abe, the friend of the common people, the Great Emancipator of the slaves. The high-living Webster, with his leonine head and his stately manner, had the appearance of greatness even after his eating and drinking habits had made him paunchy. The abstemious Lincoln, with his long arms and legs and his gawky figure, so easy to caricature, always looked pretty much like what he once had been, a small-town politician from the prairies.

The dissimilarities between them could be multiplied, but it is more to the point to consider what they had in common. If Webster was a corporation lawyer, Lincoln also served as counsel for such corporations as the Illinois Central and Ohio & Mississippi railroads; and if Lincoln rode the rural circuit in his state, so did Webster in his, as a young attorney in New Hampshire. In politics Webster was a Federalist and then a Whig, Lincoln a Whig and then a Republican. Both men, as conservatives, were generally moderate and conciliatory in their approach to public issues. And Lincoln was often influenced by Webster's example and precept.

The story of their relationship divides naturally into three periods. In the first, Webster is a famous man and Lincoln a comparative nobody who admires him from afar as an orator second to none and a party leader second only to Henry Clay. In the next, Lincoln is a rising politician who tries to identify his own cause with that of the dead Webster and thus benefit from the latter's reputation. In the final phase, Lincoln himself is the great man, finding inspiration in the words of Webster as he faces the challenge of Civil War statesmanship.

. . . .

During the early 1830's, while Webster in Washington engaged in verbal duels with the South Carolina nullifiers, Lincoln in New Salem followed the debates and read with special admiration the glorious Reply to Hayne, which con-



DANIEL WEBSTER—from a portrait by George P. A. Healy

cluded with that line once familiar to every schoolboy: "Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" Then, while Webster and the Whigs in the Senate argued with President Jackson's followers over the bank question, Lincoln and the Whigs in the legislature at Vandalia echoed the argument. In 1836, when Webster was one of three Whig candidates for the presidency, Lincoln and his colleagues endorsed the whole of their party's tricephalous ticket, though it

was a rather forlorn campaign for Webster and the Whigs.²

The next year Lincoln had his first opportunity to meet the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. On a tour of the West, Webster visited Springfield, which, largely due to Lincoln's efforts, had just been made the capital of Illinois. As a local party leader, Lincoln was presumably one of the hosts at the barbecue in Porter's Grove, where Webster delighted the crowd with some of the eloquence he always seemed to have on tap. Very likely he and Lincoln had interesting things to say to one another in private conversation, but there is no record of what, if anything, they said.³

Four years later Webster, as Secretary of State, had his hands full of applications for jobs in the foreign service, one of them submitted in Lincoln's behalf. Lincoln was then a despairing would-be bridegroom who had broken his engagement to Mary Todd. His law partner, Congressman John T. Stuart, apparently thinking a change of scenery would be good for him, wrote to the Secretary of State to recommend Lincoln's appointment as chargé d'affaires in Bogotá, Colombia. No appointment ever came through. Lincoln remained in Springfield and married Miss Todd on November 4, 1842.

Five years after that, in 1847, Lincoln went to Washington as the lone Whig congressman from Illinois and renewed his acquaintance with Webster, now back in the Senate. According to the gossip Washington journalist Benjamin Perley Poore, Webster remembered Lincoln as an attorney who had searched some Illinois land titles for him and had charged only ten dollars, which Webster repeatedly insisted was so small a fee it left him still in debt to Lincoln. Senator Webster also "used occasionally to have Mr. Lincoln at one of his pleasant

² Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (Cleveland and New York, 1949), 386; Harry E. Pratt, *Lincoln 1809-1839* (Springfield, 1941), 49; Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (2 vols., Boston and New York, 1928), I: 168, 171.

³ Fuess, *Webster*, II: 64; Pratt, *Lincoln 1809-1839*, p. 86.

⁴ Fuess, *Webster*, II: 94, 94n.

Saturday breakfasts, where the Western Congressman's humorous illustrations of the events of the day, sparkling with spontaneous and unpremeditated wit, would give great delight to 'the solid men of Boston' assembled around the festive board."⁵

Congressman Lincoln and Senator Webster saw eye to eye on the Polk administration and the Mexican War. Both of these Whigs, along with others of their party, denounced the war and condemned the President for having started it. In a House speech of July 27, 1848, which he revised as a campaign pamphlet, Lincoln insisted that the Whigs were nevertheless patriotic. They, he said, not only had voted war supplies but also had sent their own sons to war. "Clay and Webster," he noted, "each gave a son, never to be returned."⁶

But Lincoln and Webster did not agree when it came to choosing a Whig successor to the Democrat Polk. Lincoln was an early and enthusiastic advocate of the Whig general and hero of Buena Vista, Zachary Taylor. "Our only chance is with Taylor," he wrote a friend. "I go for him, not because I think he would make a better president than Clay, but because I think he would make a better one than Polk, or Cass, or Buchanan, or any such creatures, one of whom is sure to be elected, if he is not." Lincoln went to Philadelphia to do what he could for Taylor at the national convention, and stumped wholeheartedly for the candidate after Taylor had won the nomination. Webster, on the other hand, condemned Taylor as merely a military man with no political experience, and called the nomination "not fit to be made." Only during the closing days of the campaign did he speak out for the candidate, and even then his praise was faint indeed.⁷

⁵ Benjamin Perley Poore in Allen T. Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (8th ed., New York, 1889), 222.

⁶ Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. ed., 8 vols., New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), I: 515. I am indebted to Mrs. Pratt for providing from the index, then in manuscript, all references to Webster in the *Collected Works*.

⁷ Lincoln to Jesse Lynch, Apr. 10, 1848, *ibid.*, I: 463; Beveridge, *Lincoln*; I: 441-42; Current, *Webster*, 154-56.

His term in Congress over and Taylor inaugurated, Lincoln desperately wanted a federal job as commissioner of the General Land Office. But there were four other Illinois Whigs after the job, foremost among them Justin Butterfield, a Chicagoan who had not been, like Lincoln, an early and zealous Taylorite. Lincoln became angry when he learned that Butterfield had the backing of both Webster and Clay. "It will now mortify me deeply if Gen. Taylors administration shall trample all my wishes in the dust merely to gratify these men," he wrote to a friend.⁸ The man whom Clay and Webster recommended got the job, and Lincoln never quite forgave either of his Whig heroes.

At the moment Lincoln was a thoroughly frustrated politician, the outlook for him very black. Within the next few years, however, Webster was to suffer a more bitter and more final frustration, dying as he missed his last chance for the presidency. And Lincoln, advancing to the goal that Webster never reached, was to make political capital out of Webster's reputation as an advocate of American solidarity and sectional compromise.

. . .

Throughout the 1850's the American people discussed with growing heat the question of slavery in the territories, and eventually they divided and went to war over it. The Compromise of 1850 had supposedly put this question to rest by leaving the people of New Mexico and Utah, the only territories whose status was still unsettled, to decide for themselves whether they should become free or slave. Clay originally introduced the compromise proposals, and both he and Webster eloquently supported them—the latter in his Seventh of March speech, in which he said Congress need not act to keep slavery out of the territories, since God had already done so by creating geographical conditions unsuited to the "pecul-

⁸ Beveridge, *Lincoln*, I: 487-90; Lincoln to Josiah M. Lucas, Apr. 25, 1849, *Collected Works*, II: 43-44.

iar institution" of the South. While Webster was execrated by the abolitionists of New England, the Compromise and its sponsors were generally approved in Illinois and the Old Northwest.

Lincoln, in his effort to rise by capitalizing upon the popularity of the Compromise, had to contend against a better known and more influential politician from his own state—the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglas. In 1854 Senator Douglas, the chief exponent of "popular sovereignty" in the territories, put through Congress his Kansas-Nebraska bill which extended that principle to the unorganized territory of the Louisiana Purchase, previously closed to slavery by Congress in the Missouri Compromise. Douglas thus revived the whole dangerous issue. In the Northwest a violent reaction against his Kansas-Nebraska measure led directly to the formation of the Republican Party. He protested that he was carrying on in the spirit of the Compromise of 1850, but Lincoln and others contradicted him. Douglas the Democrat and Lincoln the Republican both sought votes by appealing to the memory of the departed Whig statesmen, and each claimed to be the true disciple of Webster and of Clay.

This argument had begun at least as early as the presidential campaign of 1852, when there still was a Whig Party and Webster was still alive. At that time Lincoln accused Douglas of falsely crediting the Democrats with the Compromise and brazenly stealing Clay's and Webster's ideas. In 1854, after his Kansas-Nebraska Act had aroused such widespread opposition, Douglas put his own emphasis upon the bipartisan nature of the Compromise, saying it had been the work both of Whigs like Clay and Webster and of Democrats like Lewis Cass. Lincoln complained: "The Judge [Douglas] invokes against me, the memory of Clay and of Webster." Lincoln went on to say that they were great men but were on *his* side, not on Douglas'. He asked: "For what is it, that their life-long enemy, shall now make profit, by assuming to defend

them against me, their life-long friend?" And he answered his own query: "The truth is that some support from whigs is now a necessity with the Judge, and for thus it is, that the names of Clay and Webster are now invoked." Again in 1856, when he was stumping for John C. Frémont, the first Republican presidential candidate, Lincoln countered Douglas by aligning himself on the side of the old Whigs. A Democratic newspaper reporter, dropping in on one of Lincoln's campaign talks at Petersburg, "heard him pronouncing, with thundering emphasis, a beautiful passage from Webster's compromise speech, and that, too, *without the quotations*."⁹

This same contest for identification with Clay and Webster ran through the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858. "It would be amusing, if it were not disgusting, to see how quick these compromise-breakers administer on the political effects of their dead adversaries, trumping up claims never before heard of, and dividing the assets among themselves," Lincoln exclaimed in a speech at Springfield before the formal debates began. Then in the first joint debate at Ottawa, Douglas came back at his opponent by asserting that not he but Lincoln was the compromise-breaker. "Lincoln went to work to dissolve the Old Line Whig party," Douglas resumed in the second debate at Freeport. "Clay was dead, and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified." In appearances by himself at Tremont and Carlinville Lincoln denied Douglas' charges and repeated that he stood exactly where Clay and Webster had taken their stand. In the third joint debate at Jonesboro Douglas returned to the attack, and in the fourth at Charleston he elaborated by saying that "No sooner was the rose planted on the tomb of the Godlike Webster" than Lincoln and others tried to abolitionize the good old Whig Party.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*, II: 121-32 (Lincoln's eulogy on Clay, who died June 29, 1852), 137-38, 282, 367, 370.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II: 519; III: 2-3, 61, 77, 102-3, 168-71, 270.

To the very last—on through his defeat for the presidency in 1860—Douglas stuck to his position that “popular sovereignty” should prevail in the territories. But Lincoln and the Republicans did *not* forever hold to *their* principle that slavery must be excluded from the territories by act of Congress. Early in 1861 Republican majorities in both houses passed, and Lincoln as President signed, laws which set up territorial governments in Colorado, Dakota and Nevada without any prohibition of slavery. The assumption was that slavery would not go into these territories in any case; but that had been Douglas’ assumption all along, as it had earlier been Webster’s. Even such a Republican of Republicans as James G. Blaine afterward saw the territorial legislation of 1861 as a triumph not only for Webster but also for Douglas.¹¹

Neither Webster nor Clay was individually responsible for the Compromise of 1850, for that was essentially a bipartisan achievement. Douglas himself, more than any other one man, engineered the final passage of the Compromise bills, and they were carried through by the overwhelming vote of the Democrats as well as the Whigs. The roles of Clay and Webster were afterward so much exaggerated as to become almost mythological.¹² The man who was mainly responsible for the Compromise itself was also largely responsible for the misconceptions regarding it. Douglas used the great Whig reputations in an effort to attract old Whigs to the Democratic Party and prevent Lincoln from drawing them to the Republican Party. Spurred on by Lincoln, he so minimized his own role of 1850 that he distorted history and dimmed his own reputation.

¹¹ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: from Lincoln to Garfield* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884), I: 269-72.

¹² See George D. Harmon, “Douglas and the Compromise of 1850,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXI (Jan., 1929), 453-99; George Fort Milton, *Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston and New York, 1934), 64-78; Frank H. Hodder, “The Authorship of the Compromise of 1850,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (March, 1936), 525-36; and especially Holman Hamilton, “Democratic Senate Leadership and the Compromise of 1850,” *ibid.*, XLI (Dec., 1954), 403-18.

As David Donald has shown in a witty article, present-day politicians seem to think they must prove that Lincoln is on their side, and they devote much ingenuity to "getting right with Lincoln."¹³ A hundred years ago politicians thought they had to have the late great Whigs with them, and Lincoln for one spent a good deal of effort in getting right with Clay and Webster.

. . . .

After Lincoln's "rise to power" he still found occasions to recall the time when he had been an aspiring but obscure politician and Webster a man of influence and prestige. There seemed to be in Lincoln at least a trace of bitterness left over from the days when Webster along with Clay had helped to frustrate his fond hopes for a government job. Possibly he had his old disappointment in mind when as President, in a cabinet conversation, he agreed that Clay and Webster had been "hard and selfish leaders, whose private personal ambition had contributed to the ruin of their party."¹⁴

Lincoln, however, did not let these feelings affect his disposal of patronage. Generously he allowed Webster's son Fletcher to remain in the office of surveyor of the port of Boston as a holdover from the Buchanan administration. And when Fletcher organized a Massachusetts regiment "which," as Lincoln wrote to his Secretary of War, "Hon. Daniel Webster's old friends very much wish to get into the service," Lincoln gave his approval to its being mustered in. Colonel Webster took his regiment to war and was killed at the second battle of Bull Run.¹⁵

As he faced the duties of war leader, Lincoln must have been troubled by recollections of his years in Congress when

¹³ David Donald, "Getting Right with Lincoln," *Harper's Magazine*, CCII (April, 1951), 74-80.

¹⁴ John T. Morse, Jr., ed., *Diary of Gideon Welles* (3 vols., Boston and New York, 1911), I: 507 (entry for Jan. 8, 1864).

¹⁵ *Collected Works*, IV: 336, 405. For Fletcher Webster's years in Illinois see Coleman McCampbell, "H. L. Kinney and Daniel Webster in Illinois in the 1830's," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVII (Spring, 1954), 35-44.

he had joined Webster in criticizing the Mexican War. When in 1863 Lincoln exiled Clement L. Vallandigham, the Ohio Peace Democrat, Vallandigham's sympathizers reminded Lincoln of his own remarks in the days when he had been an anti-war Whig. Now Lincoln drew a distinction between wartime remarks made before mass meetings and those made inside the halls of Congress. He denied that he had ever opposed the Mexican War in popular discussions. In saying this he was less than candid, and probably satisfied his conscience no better than he satisfied the followers of Vallandigham. As Professor J. G. Randall has said, Lincoln would have resented it if President Polk had banished a man like Webster for criticizing the war with Mexico, whether in or out of Congress.¹⁶

But President Lincoln also had happier and less troublesome reminders of Webster—such as the anecdotes he told about him. One of these stories ran through Lincoln's mind on a bright May morning in 1862 as he watched a parade of Negro Sunday school children in the White House yard. "Did you ever hear the story of Daniel Webster and the schoolmaster?" he asked the men around him as he stepped back from the window. He proceeded to tell how Daniel, when a boy, had been repeatedly punished by his teacher for coming to school with dirty hands. One day the teacher asked to look at them. As Daniel went forward he surreptitiously licked one palm, wiped it on his pants, then exhibited it. "Daniel," said the teacher sternly, "if you will find another hand in this schoolroom as filthy as that, I will let you off this time." The quick-witted Daniel promptly held out his other hand. "That will do," sighed the teacher. "You may take your seat." Having concluded, Lincoln laughed as loud as any of his hearers.¹⁷

¹⁶ J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (4 vols., New York, 1945-55), III: 266-67. Lincoln also drew the distinction that while the Whigs voted "that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States," they also voted "for all the supply measures which came up, and for all the measures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through." *Collected Works*, IV: 66.

¹⁷ Francis B. Carpenter, *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln: Six Months at the White House* (New York, 1867), 130-32; H. E. Chittenden, *Recollections of Presi-*

Lincoln told another Webster story to Francis B. Carpenter, the portrait painter, on a spring day in 1864 as he walked with him to Brady's photographic galleries to have his picture taken. Carpenter said something about "the penalty which attached to high positions in a democratic government—the tribute those filling them were compelled to pay the public." Lincoln then observed that there were different notions about what constituted a great man. And that reminded him of Webster's visit to Springfield twenty-seven years before. As Webster arrived in town and the welcoming band and procession moved down the street, a barefoot boy pulled at the sleeve of one of the citizens and asked what all the excitement was about. "Why, Jack," was the reply, "the biggest man in the world is coming." Now there happened to live in Springfield a gigantic fat man by the name of G. Jack ran up the street to see the visitor but soon came back with a disappointed air. "Well, did you see him?" the citizen inquired. "Ye-es," said Jack, "but laws—he ain't half as big as old G."¹⁸

To most of his contemporaries the sonorous Webster seemed one of the supreme orators of all history, the equal of Edmund Burke and even of Demosthenes. Few considered the rather thin-voiced Lincoln worthy of comparison with him. But Horace White of the *Chicago Tribune*, after hearing a speech of Lincoln's in 1854, thought it on the whole better than Webster's best. "It lacks something of the smooth, compulsive flow which takes the intellect captive in the Websterian diction," White commented, "but it excels in the simplicity, directness and lucidity which appeal both to the intellect and to the heart." And Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, who was in Lincoln's audience at Cooper Union in 1860, said he never had listened to a greater speech, though he had heard several of Webster's best.¹⁹

dent Lincoln and His Administration (New York, 1891), 330-34. The two accounts vary in details.

¹⁸ Carpenter, *Inner Life*, 37.

¹⁹ Horace White, *Lincoln in 1854* (Springfield, 1908), 9-11, 21-22.

It was embarrassing for Lincoln when the master of ceremonies, introducing him at the Astor House in New York during his journey to Washington as President-elect, mentioned that on other occasions Webster and Clay had spoken in the very room where Lincoln was now to speak. Since Lincoln was saving his policy announcements for the inaugural, he really had nothing to say at this time. "I did not understand when I was brought into this room that I was brought here to make a speech," he protested. "It was not intimated to me that I was brought into the room where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had made speeches, and where one in my position might be expected to do something like those men."²⁰

In Lincoln's opinion Webster was a remarkable orator, well worth reading and rereading. Lincoln once told Henry C. Whitney, his Urbana friend on the Eighth Judicial Circuit, that Webster "had no grace of oratory, but talked excellent sense and used good language." He added that he was especially impressed by a speech he himself had heard Webster make. In it, as Lincoln remembered, Webster had said: "Politicians are not sun-flowers, they do not . . . turn to their God when he sets, the same look which they turned when he rose." This quotation recurred to Lincoln after he became President and had to deal with office-seekers, and he put it into the draft of a talk he was to give in Baltimore in the spring of 1864, then in revising the speech took the passage out.²¹

But other and more important addresses by Lincoln owed a good deal to Webster. In preparing his House-Divided speech of 1858 he used the Reply to Hayne as a kind of model, and while working on his First Inaugural he again had before him that masterpiece of Webster's.

Lincoln—as Horace White observed—excelled Webster in simplicity, directness and lucidity. Compare the opening

²⁰ Lincoln, *Collected Works*, IV: 230-31.

²¹ Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. by Paul M. Angle (Caldwell, Idaho, 1940), 497; *Collected Works*, VII: 303.

lines of the Reply to Hayne with Lincoln's much briefer paraphrase in the House-Divided speech. "When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and, before we float farther on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we now are." That is Webster. And this is Lincoln: "If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it."²²

On the significant issues of the Civil War, President Lincoln repeatedly spoke in Websterian echoes and acted in a Websterian spirit. On the question of slavery within the Southern states he agreed much more nearly with Webster than with the abolitionists or Radical Republicans. In his First Inaugural he took precisely the position on the matter that Webster had taken in the Seventh of March speech. Each state, said Lincoln, had a right "to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively," and the United States Constitution required "the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves." In a similar vein Webster in 1850 confessed he had no plan for disposing of slavery, but expected it to disappear in a century or so, and he was willing to support a program for colonizing freed Negroes outside the country. During the war Lincoln proposed a plan for freeing the slaves, which he originally preferred to either the Emancipation Proclamation or the Thirteenth Amendment. He expected the process to take many years and, like Webster, he favored the settling of freedmen in foreign lands.²³ Both made the cause of human freedom secondary to national unity.

²² *Works of Daniel Webster* (6 vols., Boston, 1851), III: 270; Lincoln, *Collected Works*, II: 461.

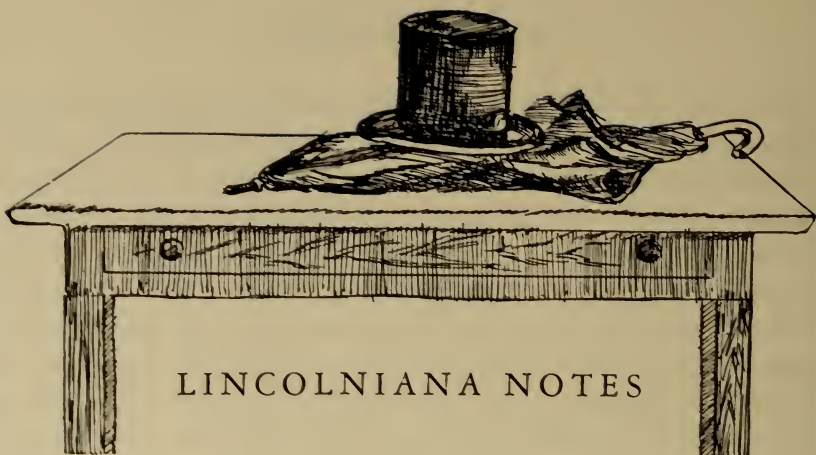
²³ Webster, *Works*, V: 333, 354-55; Lincoln, *Collected Works*, IV: 251. On Lincoln and emancipation see Randall, *Lincoln the President*, II: 126-50.

On the questions of democracy and Union, Lincoln again and again quoted or adapted the words of Webster. The memorable phrase at Gettysburg—"of the people, by the people, for the people"—was a terse wording of what Webster, Theodore Parker and others had variously expressed. Webster in *McCulloch v. Maryland* and in the Reply to Hayne said: "It is, Sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." The "last hopes of mankind," Webster declared in 1825, rested on the success of the Union, the American experiment in popular government. Unless that experiment succeeded and the Union was saved, Lincoln warned in 1862, we would lose "the last best, hope of earth." Physically the North and South could not separate, Webster maintained in 1850, and Lincoln did the same in 1861. To Webster the question of slavery in the territories was a "mere abstraction," and to Lincoln the question whether the seceded states had ever actually left the Union was after Appomattox a "merely pernicious abstraction."²⁴

Today Lincoln and Webster deserve to be remembered together as heroes in the work of redeeming American democracy and nationality. In the words of the Lincoln biographer Albert J. Beveridge, "It was the noble passages from Webster, learned in school by Northern boys, that prepared them to respond, with arms in their hands, when Lincoln called them to support the National Government and to save the Union."²⁵

²⁴ Webster, *Works*, I: 77 (Bunker Hill address, June 17, 1825: "The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth"); III: 321 (second reply to Hayne); V: 362 (Seventh of March speech, 1850: "We could not separate the States. . . . There are natural causes that would keep and tie us together"); Lincoln, *Collected Works*, IV: 259 (First Inaugural: "Physically speaking, we cannot separate"); V: 537 (Annual Message, Dec. 1, 1862: "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth"); VIII: 403 (last public address, Apr. 11, 1865).

²⁵ Beveridge, *Lincoln*, II: 131.



LINCOLN IS NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION

Of the many stories told about how Lincoln received word of his nomination for the presidency at Chicago on May 18, 1860, the following has the merit of being strictly contemporaneous, appearing in the next issue (May 23) of the *Central Illinois Gazette* of Champaign:

How Old Abe Received the News.

When the news of the nomination was received in Springfield, Mr. LINCOLN was in the *State Journal* office. A boy came headlong into the room where he was sitting, with a sealed dispatch, which he placed in his hand. Mr. LINCOLN opened it and a sudden pallor came over his features. He gazed upon it intently nearly three minutes. Then his customary smile returned and he rose, saying: "Well boys, there is a little woman down at our house who is interested in this business;" and he walked away without any further appearance of agitation to inform Mrs. Lincoln of the joyful news.¹

The same issue of the *Gazette* contains an account of the stopover made in Champaign by the notification committee en route to Springfield. Though it has been assumed that the committee came directly from Chicago to Springfield on the Chi-

¹ See also Clinton L. Conkling, "How Mr. Lincoln Received the News of His First Nomination," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1909* (Vol. XIV), 63-66. Conkling was the boy who brought the message.

cago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad (now the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio), it appears that the special train came by way of the Illinois Central to Tolono and there switched to the Great Western (now the Wabash).

To say that the people of Champaign county were *pleased* with the nomination of "honest Old Abe" would convey but a faint idea of the enthusiasm and delight that inspired every one out[side] of the "corporal's guard" of the true blue Democrats. And even among those who have heretofore trained with the pro-slavery men there were many who gladly seized upon Lincoln's nomination as a good cause for coming over on the right side and shouting "Hurrah for Lincoln!" Quite a crowd collected at the depot when the extra train on Saturday afternoon brought in the delegation of "notables" on their way to Springfield to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination, and listened to stirring speeches from [George] Ashmun, [David K.] Cartter, and others. In the evening a large and enthusiastic assembly convened in the open space in front of Barrett & Carley's warehouse, and by the light of blazing fire of tar barrels, spent the time until a late hour, shouting for the nominees and listening to brief but patriotic addresses from more than a dozen of our fellow citizens. Over in the city of Urbana the people were busy in the same way, and with the assistance of several anvils, in default of cannon, fired numberless salutes.

George Ashmun, former Massachusetts congressman, was chairman of both the Republican national convention of 1860 and the committee which came to Springfield to notify Lincoln formally of his nomination. Returning to Massachusetts, Ashmun wrote Lincoln on May 23 about party prospects, enclosing the following clipping from the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican* of the same date, stating that he was its author:²

Abraham Lincoln at Home.

. . . Mr. Lincoln listened to the [notification] address with the utmost attention, and at once proceeded to make a very neat and equally brief reply, a report of which will undoubtedly be sent by telegraph. It was a scene well calculated to try the power of self-possession of any man

² Both the letter and the clipping are in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln (Library of Congress; microfilm copy in Illinois State Historical Library).

in his situation; but the dignity and composure with which he spoke made a most marked and favorable impression upon every person present. Those who had never seen him before, and were troubled with some apprehension of awkwardness, or rawness, were at once set at ease on that score. No diplomatic interview could have been conducted with more becoming propriety; and when the formalities were over, all possible fears of any chill upon the party were at once scattered by the personal introduction which followed. His free, frank and cordial manner was electric in its influence, and every one was made to feel, not only perfectly at home in his presence, but that the selection of our candidate had fallen upon one who, in his personal qualities, was well worthy to be the representative of the American character in that respect. His face which in repose, while listening to the address of the chairman, seemed of bronze, was at the instant of speaking lighted up by an unmistakable fire of intellect; and as soon as it was subsequently relaxed by the quick and rapid question and reply of conversation, the warmth of a great heart shone out in every feature. A woman might say, on first seeing his face, that it was not a handsome one; but she would soon confess that it had the more desirable power of fascination. . . .

As nearly as could be made out in the evening light, his dwelling house is of the style and character exactly suited to his position in life. It is a two story wooden house of more than ordinary good exterior; and the interior arrangements are such as show that good taste and good domestic rule reigns within. The furniture, without pretension to show, was neat, and in admirable keeping with what is understood to be his moderate pecuniary ability. Everything tended to represent the home of a man who has battled hard with the fortunes of life, and whose hard experience has taught him to enjoy whatever of success belongs to him, rather in solid substance than in showy display.

It may not be a violation of propriety to say, that leaving the other gentlemen for a while, I sought, in another room, an introduction to Mrs. Lincoln, who, though eschewing all politics, could not but be a sharer in the good feeling of the occasion. It is not often in good taste for visitors to bring ladies in any way before the public; but I may possibly be pardoned for saying that I shall be proud, as an American citizen, when the day brings her to grace the White House.

"A SON OF AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE"

Among the thousands of letters which came to President Lincoln's desk were many asking for promotions or favors for

old Illinois friends. The Illinois State Historical Library has recently acquired one such letter, written on November 29, 1863 by General Nathan Kimball to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, recommending Lieutenant George Monroe for promotion:

I take great pleasure in recommending for promotion First Lieutenant George Monroe of the 54th Regiment Illinois Infantry Vol's to Captain & A.Q.M.

Lieu. Monroe has been Regimental Quarter Master of his Regt since the Regiment has been in my command.

Implicit confidence is placed in him by the officers of his Regiment and all who know him.

He is competent, active, and trustworthy and in my estimation a proper officer for your favorable consideration.

Thomas referred the letter to Lincoln, who added his endorsement:

Lieut. Monroe is a son of an old friend of mine, and I desire him to have the promotion sought, if the service admits of it.

FEB. 8, 1864

A. LINCOLN

The "old friend" was Dr. Byrd Monroe, Whig and later Republican leader, physician and druggist of Charleston, Illinois, who had served in the Senate of the Eleventh and Twelfth General Assemblies (1838-1841) while Lincoln was in the House. Lieutenant George Monroe was "Promoted by President" on September 30, 1864 to captain, and brevetted a major of volunteers on March 13, 1865.

LINCOLN TRAVEL PROBLEM

On January 10, 1853, the day of Governor Joel A. Matteson's inauguration, Lincoln wrote him a letter asking for the pardon of a prisoner in the Alton Penitentiary. The letter, in the Pardon and Parole Papers in the Illinois State Archives, like a previous petition of a group of Coles County citizens July 24, 1852, was ignored and the man served his term:

In July 1850, a man by the name of William D. Davis, was tried and convicted of the crime Manslaughter and sentenced to the Penitentiary for the term of three years, by the circuit court of Clark county, whither his case had been taken by a change of venue from Coles county. I assisted in his defence, and thought his conviction was right, but that the term fixed was too long under the circumstances. I told him that if he should behave himself well for a considerable portion of the time, I would join in asking a pardon for the remainder. He has a young family, and has lost one of his arms. He has now served about five sixths of his time; and I understand, the Warden, who is now in Springfield, testifies that he has behaved well. Under these circumstances I hope he may be released from further confinement.

It is well known that Lincoln arrived in Chicago on July 7, 1850 for his first case in the federal court there—*Parker v. Hoyt*, an alleged infringement of a patent on a water wheel, in which he represented the defendant—and remained until his return to Springfield near the end of the month. When "in July 1850" Lincoln could have tried the Davis case in Clark County remained a mystery—since the county records were destroyed by a courthouse fire December 30, 1902—until the following item was discovered in the *Illinois State Democrat* (published at Marshall, the county seat) of Saturday, July 6, 1850:

The special term of the Circuit Court for this county, commenced its session on Monday last, and adjourned on Tuesday. The case of the People against Davis, was the only case tried; which resulted in his conviction to the States Prison for the term of three years. Messrs. [Wickliffe] Kitchell, [Usher F.] Linder and [Samuel S.] Marshall, prosecuted, and Messrs. Lincoln, [Orlando B.] Ficklin, [Alexander P.] Dunbar and [Albert G.] Jones, defended.

Since there were no railroads in eastern Illinois at that time, it was no mean feat for Lincoln to cover the distance from Marshall to Chicago between the close of the Davis case on July 2 and his arrival in the latter city on July 7. He may have driven to Springfield (130 miles) in his buggy, taken the Northern Cross Railroad to Naples, and then proceeded by

boat up the Illinois River and the Illinois and Michigan Canal to Chicago—traveling over four hundred miles, while the direct distance is less than two hundred.

“MR. LINCOLN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE”

A hundred years ago, without such aids as national press associations, newspapers published non-local news in the form of long quotations from other journals—sometimes at third or fourth hand. The reports of Lincoln’s speeches at Phenix Hall in Concord, New Hampshire on the afternoon of March 1, 1860 and in Manchester that evening were picked up from the papers of the respective cities by the *Boston Atlas and Bee*, and that paper’s article was reprinted under the above title in the *Ottawa (Illinois) Republican* of March 31:

The Concord *Statesman* says that notwithstanding the rain of Thursday, rendering traveling very inconvenient, the largest hall in that city was crowded to hear Mr. Lincoln. The editor says it was “one of the most powerful, logical and compact speeches to which it was ever our fortune to listen; an argument against the system of slavery, and in defence of the position of the Republican party, from the deduction of which no reasonable man could escape. He fortified every position assumed by proofs which it is impossible to gainsay; and while his speech was at intervals enlivened by remarks which elicited [laughter] at the expense of the Democratic party, there was nevertheless, not a single word which tended to impair the dignity of the speaker or weaken the force of the great truths which he uttered.”

The *Statesman* adds that the address “was perfect, and was closed by a peroration which brought his audience to their feet. We are not extravagant in the remark that a political speech of greater power has rarely ever been uttered in the capitol of New Hampshire. At its conclusion nine roof-raising cheers, were given, three for the speaker, three for the Republicans of Illinois, and three for the Republicans of New Hampshire.”

On the same evening, Mr. Lincoln spoke at Manchester, to an immense gathering in Smyth’s Hall. The *Mirror*, a neutral paper gives the following enthusiastic notice of his speech:

“The audience was a flattering one to the reputation of the speaker. It was composed of persons of all sorts of political notions, earnest to hear

one whose fame was so great; and we think most of them went away thinking better of him than they anticipated they should. He spoke an hour and a half with great fairness [and] great apparent candor, and with wonderful interest. He did not abuse the South, the Administration, or the Democrats, or indulge in any personalities, with the solitary exception of a few hits at Douglas' notions. He is far from prepossessing in personal appearance, and his voice is disagreeable, and yet he wins your attention and good will from the start.

"He indulges in no flowers of rhetoric, no eloquent passages; he is not a wit, a humorist or a clown; yet, so great a vein of pleasantry and good nature pervades what he says, gliding over a deep current of practical argument, he keeps his hearers in a smiling mood, with their mouths open ready to swallow all he says. His sense of the ludicrous is very keen, and an exhibition of that is the clincher of all his arguments—not the ludicrous acts of persons but the ludicrous ideas. Hence he is never offensive, and steals away willingly into his train for the belief of persons who were opposed to him. For the first half hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered and from that he [be]gan to lead them off, little by little, cunningly till it seemed as if he had got them all into his fold. He displays more shrewdness, more knowledge of the masses of mankind, than any public speaker we have heard since long Jim Wilson left for California."

THE CHRISTENING OF CAMP MARY LINCOLN

Mrs. Lincoln's visit to one of the camps near Washington was reported in the *New York Times* of June 28, 1861 (dated Washington, June 27). It was reprinted in the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield on July 8:

A very interesting ceremony took place this evening at the camp of the Thirty-seventh New York Volunteers, under the command of Col. [John H.] McCunn. During the evening parade the Presidential equipage drove on the ground, the occupants being Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. [Elizabeth Todd] Grimsley, Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Gen. [Hiram] Walbridge of New York, and Mr. [Thomas] Sweeny. After the parade was dismissed, the regiment formed a line of battle in front of the Colonel's head-quarters, whilst Mrs. Lincoln and her friends partook of his hospitality within. When the party reentered the carriage, Col. McCunn, in a patriotic speech, christened the tented field by breaking a bottle of champagne on the car-

riage wheel, calling it Camp Mary, in honor of the lady of the White House. Uproarious cheers were given by the regiment for the President, for his accomplished lady, and for the Union. In answer to repeated calls, Hon. Schuyler Colfax made an eloquent oration. Gen. Walbridge, in the name of Mrs. Lincoln, presented Col. McCunn with a very handsome Union cockade, and in doing so drew forth repeated bursts of applause by the truly national sentiments which fell from his lips. Mrs. Lincoln, who looked remarkably well, wore a beautiful silk bonnet sent her as a present from Massachusetts; the Stars and Stripes were never more artistically delineated than they are in its construction.

"TOO BIG TO CRY"

Probably the first published version of a much-quoted Lincoln epigram was reprinted in the *Alton Daily Courier* of January 17, 1859:

The Springfield correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* writes to that paper in a late letter as follows: "I am almost ashamed of having, up to this moment, neglected to speak of 'Old Abe'—the vanquished, but still kicking LINCOLN. Unpleasant as his sensations must have been in these days, he is yet possessed of that never failing remedy against the embittering influences of disappointment and defeat—good humor. He is just as full of fun now as he ever was. The campaign having enabled him to lay in a new supply of stories, his friends are experiencing a more or less severe taxation of their laughing muscles as often as they succeed in getting him to speak about his stumping adventures. I had myself once more the pleasure, this afternoon, of pumping a few of his pointed witticisms and illustrations out of him. In answer to an inquiry, in relation to the election of Douglas,—'Well, Abe, I suppose you are not going to cry over spilt milk are you?' he rejoined with his usual good-natured smile, 'I am in the predicament of a Kentucky boy I once heard of. Running up hill, he stumbled, and hurt his toe pretty badly. Some one coming up, asked him whether he was going to cry or laugh about it. "Well," said he, "*I am too big to cry about it, but it hurts too awful bad to laugh!*" ' ' "



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION A CENTURY AGO

The governors of Illinois have occupied the present Executive Mansion in Springfield for one hundred years.

When the capital was moved from Vandalia to Springfield in 1839, the State purchased a house at Eighth and Market (now Capitol Avenue), one block north of the Lincoln Home, as a residence for the governors.

The Mansion, authorized by the legislature in 1853, was completed in 1855. Governor Joel A. Matteson and family moved in on November 30 of that year (not 1856 as usually given), according to the Stuart letters in the Illinois State Historical Library. Major John T. Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner and cousin of Mrs. Lincoln, lived across the street west of the Mansion. He also described the first formal reception on January 10, 1856.

The final cost of house and lot, for which there had originally been a \$15,000 appropriation plus the \$2,680 realized from the sale of the old governor's house, was \$45,794.31. The furnishings cost \$6,487.36 instead of the \$3,000 originally appropriated.

The contemporary newspaper accounts reprinted below tell of the progress of the work on the Mansion, and also give the name of the architect—John M. Van Osdel (1811-1891) of Chicago—which had been elusive for the intervening years.

. . . .

Mr. [Asahel] GRIDLEY, from the committee on public buildings, reported a bill for building a house for the Governor—appropriating \$15,000 for the building, and \$3,000 for furniture; which bill was read three times and passed.

Illinois Journal [Springfield], Feb. 8, 1853.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, Feb. 11, 2 p.m.

Bill to appoint commissioners to build a house for Governor; lost, reconsidered, and passed, 42 to 22.

Ibid., Feb. 14, 1853.

. . . The appropriation for building the Governor's House, is liberal, and will secure the erection of a building which will do honor to the State.

. . . The Governor's House, will be a handsome addition to our public buildings.

Ibid., Feb. 15, 1853.

LAWS OF ILLINOIS.

An Act to appoint commissioners to build a house for the Governor of the State of Illinois.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly*, That the Governor [Joel A. Matteson], Auditor [Thomas H. Campbell] and Treasurer [John Moore] be appointed commissioners whose duty it shall be immediately after the passage of this act to purchase for the State of Illinois a lot of ground upon which they shall erect a building to be occupied by the Governor of the State of Illinois, as a residence, and the sum of fifteen thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury for that purpose, subject to be drawn out on the order of the board, upon the presentation of which order the Auditor is directed to issue his warrant on the Treasurer.

Sec. 2. When the building shall be completed, or any other provision shall be made for the building or purchase of a residence for the Governor, the Auditor is hereby directed to issue his warrant on the Treasurer in favor of said board to be invested by them in the purchase of furniture for said house for any sum not exceeding three thousand dollars.

Sec. 3. Said board may, if they think it advisable, purchase a residence for the use of the Governor, and said board is hereby authorized to dispose of upon the best terms they can the house and lot [at Eighth and Market (now Capitol Avenue)] now occupied by the Governor, and any conveyance executed by the Governor of this State under the directions of said board of commissioners shall convey all the right, title and interest which the State of Illinois has in said premises, and the proceeds of said sale [\$2,680] shall be expended for the purpose of complying with the provisions of this act.

Sec. 4. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved Feb. 12, 1853.

Ibid., March 11, 1853.

We understand that the Commissioners to locate and cause to be erected a "Governor's House," in this city, consisting of the Governor, the Auditor of Public Accounts and the State Treasurer, have fixed upon the place known as "Cook's Grove," on Fourth Street [at Jackson] south, about four blocks from the public square, for the site of said building. The place is elevated and has always been regarded as one of the best lots in the city. [It was purchased from Nicholas H. Ridgely.]

Ibid., May 25, 1853.

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.—The construction of the governor's house will soon be commenced. The contract for the stone work has been taken by Mr. Downs, of this city, and we see that he is busily engaged in hauling material to the site of the building. The brick portion of the work is not yet contracted for, but all the necessary arrangements for that purpose will be completed in a few days. We believe it is designed to have the house under roof this season.

Illinois State Register [Springfield], July 20, 1853.

The Governor's house is making substantial progress. The walls and partitions of the basement story are well nigh completed. The vestibule commences at the bottom in the center, and will be lighted from the observatory at the top. The other rooms of the basement are two fuel rooms, laundry, kitchen, office, breakfast room, sink room, pantry, hall, and WINE CELLAR. The whole building will be heated with apparatus at the bottom. The first story above the basement will be fourteen feet; the second twelve feet. The observatory will extend fifteen feet above the roof; the top will be sixty-four feet from the ground. When finished, it will be a commanding and magnificent building; and to keep it up in style, will make a large drain on the Governor's salary [\$1,500 per annum].

Illinois Journal, May 12, 1854.

The governor's house is progressing, when finished, will be about the finest residence in Illinois. Its foundation is stone, and the front walls are of pressed brick. The style of the house is a good one, and will be sufficiently large to accommodate the governor's guests on public occasions.

Illinois State Register, June 3, 1854, quoting *Decatur Gazette*.

THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.

We learn from the Springfield [*Capital*] *Enterprise* that this magnificent edifice and ornament to the capital is advancing towards completion. The superintendent of the work [Thomas J. Dennis] believes that by the 1st of

December the whole building will be ready for occupancy.

The estimated cost of the structure is \$25,000. It will be forty feet from the ground to cornice, embracing two stories, basement and attic. Its length north and south, is seventy-eight feet; east and west, eighty feet. An observatory twenty-eight feet in height from the cornice of the main building, is to be erected in the centre of the roof, and accessible by a spiral stairway. The main entrance, on the north front, will be embellished with a large portico of tasteful proportions. The door-way [is] to be reached by heavy stone steps girded with ornamental iron railing. In the space between the platform of the steps and door there will be a semi-circular mosaic pavement of marble, surrounded by arches and elaborately finished columns. A hall fifteen feet in width leads to a large ante-chamber, and around it are arranged six large rooms which open into each other, by means of wide sliding doors, so that when all are open a promenade is formed of the entire first story. The walls of these rooms are to be finished with the hardest and best material, wrought into pannels, centre pieces, mouldings and cornices.

The building is constructed of beautiful red pressed brick, manufactured by ELI TAINTOR & BRO., of Springfield. These brick have been compared with the best Baltimore and Philadelphia brick and pronounced superior to either. The plan of the house is in the modern style of architecture and was designed by J. M. VANOSDEL [John Murray Van Osdel], a Chicago architect; however, the wood work has been built according to the taste of the superintendent, who was not furnished with plans by the architect. It is well as it is. The bricklaying is being done by Messrs. WISE & LINDSAY, the painting by HILLMAN & CUNNINGHAM.

Alton Daily Courier, Aug. 4, 1854.

The new house building for the Governor will really be a splendid mansion. It is situated on a beautiful lot containing about two acres, with a growth of forest trees on it, about three-fourths of a mile south of the State House. The well in the yard affords water as cold as if iced. We drank copiously of it, and bathed an aching head there till it was soothed and ached no more.—We hope to drink of it again, to the immortal honor of God's glorious beverage, with the veritable master of the rising mansion, the Prairie State's Governor at no distant day.

Illinois Journal, Aug. 25, 1854, quoting *St. Louis Intelligencer*.

THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.—We hear that work will be resumed on this house as soon as the weather will permit—so that it may be completed before Autumn, for the reception of the family of the Executive. It will be a noble and handsome structure worthy of the State, which within twenty years, will

be in population the first state of the Union, and in wealth not far behind the first. Our citizens, as well in the city as in other parts of the State, will be made happy by seeing the Governor's Lady presiding in the new Executive Mansion—a duty which she is well qualified to perform in the most pleasant and satisfactory manner. We hope that the building will be completed, and the grounds arranged within the next few months.

Ibid., Feb. 27, 1855.

The Governor's house is being pushed forward rapidly. The masons are now plastering the rooms, and the carpenters have the inside work nearly completed. It will be one of the finest buildings in the State, and when the grounds around it are properly arranged, show off magnificently.

Ibid., May 24, 1855.

A communication from Gov. Matteson was read [at the Springfield City Council meeting July 23] in relation to improvements on the Town Branch by the Governor's house, which was referred to the appropriate committee, and an order passed requiring the City Engineer to make a survey and report an estimate for culverting that part of the Town Branch in front of the property of the State.

Ibid., July 24, 1855.

The Governor's house will be so far completed that the Governor's family may be able to take possession of it in a few weeks. It is a noble building; its style is entire good taste; and the work and material unexceptionable. It will be a credit to Illinois.

Alton Weekly Courier, Aug. 23, 1855.

. . . Yesterday [November 29, 1855] was Thanksgiving, and we had Aunt & Uncle [Dr. and Mrs. John Todd] and cousin Lizzie [Elizabeth Todd Grimsley] to dine with us. . . . We are having delightful weather now. The Govs family moved in to day. . . .

Mrs. John T. Stuart to Bettie Stuart, Springfield,
[Nov. 30, 1855], Stuart-Hay Papers, Illinois
State Historical Library.

. . . This is a delightful day—but I found the wind rather cold in going to church. The Govs family walked along with us from church, they are now our opposite neighbors. Miss lydias beaux was with her—Mr. Maginis [John McGinnis, Jr.] I believe. . . . I think I shall enjoy having such pleasant neighbors as I think Mrs. Matteson and family will prove to be. . . .

Mrs. Stuart to Bettie, Dec. 2, 1855, *ibid.*



Photo courtesy Mrs. Clarence J. Root, Highland Park, Mich.

EARLIEST KNOWN PHOTOGRAPH OF THE RED-BRICK GOVERNOR'S MANSION

Last evening the Governor's new mansion was thrown open to a very large company of invited guests, including many distinguished strangers now here in attendance upon the Courts. In all respects, the entertainment was complete, and got up in a style of great magnificence—Gov. MATTESON and his excellent lady doing the honors of host and hostess, with their well known hospitality. With supper, music, dancing and promenading, the party passed off in a most delightful manner.

Illinois State Journal, Jan. 11, 1856.

The governor's mansion was thrown open last evening to several hundred invited guests from different parts of the state. The entertainment was in every particular worthy the taste and liberality of the executive and his accomplished family. The supper was on a most munificent scale and the music of the band and the promenades were enjoyed by the gayest assemblage ever marshalled in our city.

Illinois State Register, Jan. 11, 1856.

A HOUSE WARMING.—On Thursday evening last, Gov. MATTESON entertained a large number of friends from various quarters of the State, on the occasion of the formal opening of the Executive Mansion which had just been completed. We hear it said the affair was conducted in a very happy and satisfactory manner, and that no one had cause to regret accepting the invitation of the Governor and his estimable lady.

Chicago Tribune, Jan. 12, 1856.

The parties at the Governors were splendid affairs *topping* any thing before in Springfield especially when the house is taken into the consideration. It was said that one Thousand invitations were sent out for Thursday evening . . . 400 of these however were away from Springfield. It was a large company which assembled and although the house was not crowded yet sufficiently so for comfort. The ladies some of them I may say most of them were elegantly dressed and all seemed to enjoy themselves very much. One half the house was occupied by us old folks the other by the youngers "tripping the fantastic toe." Mother went to the party and of course I did. It was very unfortunate that about night the gas became frozen or rather the water in the gas pipes, so that the house had to be lighted with candles hastily arranged.

The next evening all the small "folks" were invited and Mother and myself also to look on. The house was full of boys and girls. The gas was in full operation. The band was in attendance—all the rooms were thrown open and all the children danced or at least hopped about. They behaved like ladies and gentlemen and enjoyed it amazingly. It was to me a beautiful sight, and I never passed a more pleasant evening. John [T. Stuart, Jr.] danced all evening *in his way*. Next day he and Bob Lincoln were hunting up the dancing master. . . .

John T. Stuart to Bettie, Jan. 13, 1856,
Stuart-Hay Papers.

. . . .

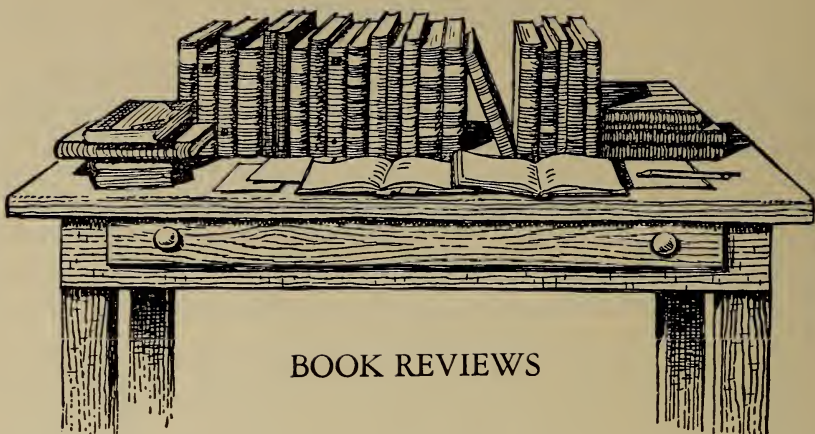
John Murray Van Osdel, architect of the Mansion, was born in Baltimore July 31, 1811. The family moved to New York in 1825, where John became

an apprentice to his father, who was an architect. From 1831 to 1836 he practiced his profession in Baltimore and then returned to New York. William B. Ogden, first mayor of Chicago, arranged to have Van Osdel build him a mansion. As Chicago's first resident architect Van Osdel not only built many of the pre-fire landmarks of the city, but branched into the construction of the *James Allen* and the *George W. Dole*, two of the first steamboats built in Chicago, and of screw pumps to lift water from the excavations for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He was largely responsible for raising the grade of Chicago to lift the city out of the mud.

Among the notable structures designed by Van Osdel were the second Cook County Courthouse (burned in 1871), the Palmer House, Tremont House and Farwell and McCormick blocks in Chicago; the Mansion (1853-1855) and Governor Matteson's home (1856-1857) in Springfield; Governor John Wood's home (1857) in Quincy, now the home of the Quincy and Adams County Historical Society; and University Hall, the first building of Illinois Industrial University (now University of Illinois) at Urbana. He was a trustee of the University for six years. His books and plans, which he buried during the Chicago Fire of 1871, not only enabled him to resume work immediately, but also provide most of the available information about construction in Chicago before that date. He died in Chicago December 21, 1891.

Van Osdel inserted an advertisement in the *Illinois State Journal* beginning September 27, 1866. The *Journal* of that date commented editorially:

ARCHITECT.—The attention of our readers is called to the card in our advertising columns of Mr. John M. Van Osdel, of Chicago. Mr. Van Osdel stands at the head among architects in that city, and is already well and favorably known in our own city, and in other cities of the West. The Executive mansion and Gov. Matteson's house are specimens of Mr. Van Osdel's skill in architecture, and we take pleasure in commending him to any of our readers who may desire plans and specifications for building.



BOOK REVIEWS

Civil War on the Western Border 1854-1865. By Jay Monaghan. (Little, Brown & Company: Boston, 1955. Pp. 454. \$6.00.)

About one-third of this book deals with the Kansas-Missouri border troubles during the Kansas territorial period (1854-1861). The remainder describes many complex military and political events in Kansas, Missouri, Indian Territory and northern Arkansas during the Civil War, including an account of the most savage and ruthless guerrilla warfare occurring anywhere during those years. This is the first comprehensive treatment of the Civil War in this region. The writing is vigorous, and considering the complexity of events, the interest in the unfolding drama of the border war is well sustained. To this reviewer the accounts of the battles of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and Westport (near Kansas City), the "biggest Civil War engagement west of the Missouri," were of unusual interest. Maps would have been valuable in following the complex events in this territory.

Monaghan's "Notes and Sources," some ninety pages, are essentially citations to the sources on which the text is based. The citations pertinent to a portion of the text are listed in the order of "the first use of each reference work in that particular section of the text"—a method difficult to use in verifying statements in the text. This is a matter of particular importance since at least two-thirds of this book covers a hitherto untouched field; therefore its statements and conclusions should have been documented with unusual care. It is difficult to determine whether Monaghan's quotations are real, imaginary, or condensations of the originals. As one instance (page 7) Senator Seward is quoted, but no source is given, and an examination of the original in the *Appendix to the Congressional Globe* for May 25, 1854, reveals that it has been misquoted.

The "Notes" also fail to reveal why one source of information is preferred over other conflicting reports of the same event. Much of the history of this period and area involves facts which are obscure and extremely controversial. For instance (page 339) the Confederate losses at the Battle of Mine Creek, the most extensive Civil War engagement fought on Kansas soil, are given as two generals, "four colonels, a thousand men, and ten pieces of artillery." There are wide discrepancies between the various accounts of the Battle of Mine Creek—including those in the *Official Records*. Why were these particular figures selected? Some appraisal of the relative value of the many little-used and previously unknown sources presumably utilized by Mr. Monaghan would have been a lasting contribution to scholarship.

University of Kansas

ROBERT TAFT

The Raiders. By William E. Wilson. (Rinehart: New York, 1955. Pp. 244. \$3.00.)

Novels with a Civil War setting continue to proliferate. "Morgan, Morgan the Raider, and Morgan's terrible men," with their pistols and bowie knives, are still riding up the glens of southern Indiana. Professor Wilson has given us such a Morgan novel, well written and above many others in historical fidelity.

Mayor Henry Clayburn of Crescent City (about which the author has written a previous book), a city of eleven thousand (too many for any Ohio River-Indiana town of that day), in July, 1863, discovers five or six hundred Confederate raiders (too few for the real Morgan crossing) coming over from the Kentucky shore. Although a Democrat, Clayburn is a loyal Union man, his son being with Grant at Vicksburg. The book recounts the events of the next twenty-four hours in and about Crescent City and the measures of defense the Mayor undertakes without success, until he dons a gray uniform and rides off to bring Federal troops to the rescue.

A historical novelist ought to observe a reasonable fidelity to his historical setting, and should not distort or discolor the major historical events which he uses. Professor Wilson observes this general rule. Certain recent writers have sought to inflate the antics of the Copperheads into a major and lurid conspiracy—which almost got ready to start toward the very edge of genuine underground activity, but nothing ever hatched. In *The Raiders* Mayor Clayburn appraises the Knights of the Golden Circle as about three hundred with no first-rate men, who in a crisis would not give organized support to the Rebellion—their discontent found expression in fanciful rituals and little escapades. This, I believe, is sound history.

Wilson's story brings in "Lightning," Morgan's telegrapher, the battle of

the gunboat, the attempt to interrupt the Ohio River crossing, the Confederate looting and horse stealing. They do little killing and do not stay long in Crescent City: the Mayor's heroic ride to summon rescue results only in the rescuers wounding the Mayor. The leading casualty, a Confederate colonel, is killed by a Copperhead. Out of all this the author has woven an interesting story that will reward the reader for his time. He may learn a little good history, and will not acquire any bad.

University of Illinois

ROBERT B. BROWNE

Three Presidents and Their Books: The Reading of Jefferson (Arthur Bestor), *Lincoln* (David C. Mearns), *Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Jonathan Daniels). (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1955. Pp. 129. \$2.50.)

This is the book form of the fifth annual Windsor Lectures at the University of Illinois, honoring Phineas L. Windsor, who retired in 1940 after thirty-one years as Director of the University Library and Library School.

Arthur Bestor, professor of history at the University, is currently engaged in writing an intellectual history of the United States, "a field in which Thomas Jefferson naturally played a conspicuous part." Jefferson, the scholar, collected three separate libraries. After the burning of the Capitol he offered to sell his 6,000 volumes, the fruits of forty-five years of collecting, to the government. They were purchased despite fears that the payment of \$23,900 would "bankrupt the Treasury, beggar the people, and disgrace the nation," and became the nucleus of the Library of Congress.

"Jefferson's libraries were for use. . . . His ultimate purpose was not to display his library but to live with it and to make its volumes work for him and for others. . . . Books were tools, designed to assist men in the most serious and difficult of their labors." For pernicious books he urged: "Permit the books to circulate freely, but encourage the most searching criticism of them and work vigorously to bring the criticisms to public attention."

Mearns, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress and editor of *The Lincoln Papers*, writes of Lincoln's reading from boy to President. The "cloud of [conflicting] witnesses" makes it difficult to determine when Lincoln learned to read or what (with few exceptions) he read. In boyhood he became familiar with the Bible and Weems' *Life of Washington*. At New Salem he mastered Kirkham's Grammar, and when appointed deputy surveyor "studied Flint, and Gibson a little, and went at it." Twice in later years Lincoln explained how he began the study of law with "Blackstone's Commentaries, and after reading it carefully through, say

twice, take up Chitty's Pleading, Greenleaf's Evidence, & Story's Equity &c. in succession."

"Lincoln was never a bibliophile," says Mearns. "For him, books . . . existed only to be read." He added some of his own money to the Congressional appropriation for the White House library, and borrowed more than 125 books from the Library of Congress. The author concludes by surveying Lincoln's tastes in history, biography, religion and philosophy, mathematics, the classics, fiction, poetry, newspapers and politics—based in part on sources not available to Martin L. Houser, William E. Barton and Rufus Rockwell Wilson, earlier students of Lincoln's reading.

Jonathan Daniels, friend for many years and administrative assistant (1943-1945) to Franklin D. Roosevelt, writes delightfully of the President's liking for books as objects, his being impressed by the sheer bulk of collections and the beauty of old rare volumes, and his enjoyment of his great collection of American naval books and pamphlets. Roosevelt read for "curiosity and for fun," and "set himself up as presidential bookman better than any previous president, with a staff qualified to keep him in contact with books and ideas in the whole range from Plato to Edward Lear."

H. E. P.

The Printer and the Prince: a Study of the Influence of Horace Greeley upon Abraham Lincoln as Candidate and President. By James H. Trietsch. (Exposition Press: New York, 1955. Pp. 332. \$2.50.)

Unfortunate in its main title, this book is an excellent character study of Horace Greeley and his relations with Lincoln, 1860-1865. Lincoln is said to have read Greeley's *New York Tribune* since it started in 1841, and before the Civil War the paper had 16,500 subscribers in Illinois.

Greeley was one of the few men who claimed never to have heard Lincoln tell a funny story. The editor's personality baffled both his contemporaries and posterity—a bundle of contradictions, he could have been Lincoln's great contact with the people had he been predictable.

Greeley progressed from pacifism and an advocacy of peaceable secession in 1861 to extreme Jacobin radicalism. After urging "On to Richmond!" before Bull Run he acted like an insane man when the battle was lost. His editorials and letters to the President were strangely inconsistent. He drifted back to pacifism, then worked for foreign mediation to end the war in early 1863. Announcing that Confederate representatives with peace plans were near Niagara Falls, he called on Lincoln to make peace; but on appointment as contact man, Greeley fumbled the play. Angry at the President, he led in the move to replace Lincoln with Salmon P. Chase as Republican candidate

in the summer of 1864, but the plan fell through when Sherman captured Atlanta. Bitter over a ten-year fight with Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward and a four-year failure to influence Lincoln's policies, Greeley was on the brink of a mental collapse at the time of the President's death.

This little book by a blind, young Texas college teacher deserved a better format and an index, though the notes and bibliography are satisfactory. It is recommended reading for anyone interested in Lincoln or Greeley.

H. E. P.

Lincoln's Third Secretary: the Memoirs of William O. Stoddard. Edited, with an Introduction by William O. Stoddard, Jr. (New York: Exposition Press, 1955. Pp. 235. \$3.50.)

Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones supplies a revealing foreword to this book, which reads like an old man's reminiscences without benefit of journal or diary. Dates and facts are scarce, and the stories of Stoddard's years in the White House are too general to add to our knowledge of Lincoln. The President's letters and notes to Stoddard are mentioned but do not appear in the book—nor in Lincoln's *Collected Works*.

Stoddard's claim to have been the first (May 4, 1859) to have suggested Lincoln's nomination for the presidency is set forth again, as in his earlier writings. This false claim was exploded by William E. Baringer in *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (1937). Files of Stoddard's own newspaper, the *Central Illinois Gazette* of West Urbana (Champaign) do not support his claim, and the *Lacon Illinois Gazette* and others urged Lincoln's candidacy six months before Stoddard became an editor.

It is doubtful whether the persons in the photograph on page 86 have been correctly identified.

H. E. P.

The Buffalo Trace: the Story of Abraham Lincoln's Ancestors. By Virginia S. Eifert. (Dodd, Mead & Company: New York, 1955. Pp. 193. \$3.00.)

This fictional account concerning the ancestors of Abraham Lincoln, who moved from their settled valley in Virginia through the Cumberland Gap and into the wild Indian-infested regions of Kentucky beyond Boonesboro, will delight both old and young readers. The fascinating style and sustaining interest of this book won for the author the *New York Herald-*

Tribune's nineteenth annual award at the Children's Spring Book Festival on May 12.

Illinois State Museum

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

Wheels West: The Story of the Donner Party. By Homer Croy. (Hastings House: New York, 1955. Pp. 242. \$3.75.)

Thirty-two people composed the Reed-Donner Party which left Springfield, Illinois on April 16, 1846 for California. They went for reasons of health, for free land and adventure, not for gold. Their number increased to eighty-seven as they journeyed westward. Finding themselves behind schedule they took a short cut—but it failed, and they became snowbound in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. With their supplies exhausted, acts of heroism and cannibalism intermingled at the camps near the present Donner Lake. Despite rescue efforts, forty-two perished and only forty-five survived.

James F. Reed, furniture and starch manufacturer, killed a man for striking Mrs. Reed with a whip and was banished. He became the hero of the rescue efforts made from Sutter's Fort.

Tamsen Donner, former schoolteacher and wife of George Donner, is the heroine. Her dream of starting a school for girls in California ended with her murder by Lewis Keseberg, a German crazed for money. The author traces Keseberg's career in California and gleefully notes that justice triumphed with his financial failure and death in the Sacramento County Hospital. He also traces the lives of the other survivors in California, including the Graves family from Lacon, Illinois, who joined the party in the Wasatch Mountains.

Homer Croy retraced the Donner Trail and reveled in the contemporary letters and other sources. Of all the books on this "great epic of emigrating Americans" his is the liveliest and most readable. His chronology, notes and index done in his own inimitable style are excellent.

H. E. P.

American Demagogues: Twentieth Century. By Reinhard H. Luthin. (The Beacon Press: Boston, 1954. Pp. 368. \$5.00.)

From James M. Curley, "the Boston Brahmin-Baiter," through the eight intervening "demagogues" to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, who closes the book, author Luthin presents well this mob-master feature of American politics. William Hale "Big Bill" Thompson of Chicago and Vito Marcantonio of New York operated on a city level; Curley, Mr. and Mrs. James E. "Pa and Ma" Ferguson of Texas, Huey P. "Kingfish" Long of Louisiana and Frank "I Am the Law" Hague of Jersey City extended their control to their

state governments. William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma, Theodore G. "The Man" Bilbo of Mississippi and Eugene Talmadge, "The Wild Man of Sugar Creek, Georgia" were rural spellbinders. The "white supremacy" crusades of Bilbo and Talmadge were effective again and again in winning elections. McCarthy is the only one of Luthin's subjects who has operated on the national level.

Illinoisans reading the twenty-five pages on "Big Bill the Builder" of Chicago will conclude that their "entry" rates well among the demagogues. Wearing his sombrero, with a fife-and-drum corps and huge "I WILL" placards, he assailed the "trust press" and called on all Chicagoans to "throw away your hammer and get a horn." Thompson "made a sport of politics as he had made a sport of boating," writes Luthin, "but the rules of the game caught up with him. . . . Like many other demagogues, he had risen to power in the robes of a reformer. But . . . the people were deceived. He said he would clean up crime, and the Capone gang flourished under his regime. He said he would stop patronage, and he used it even . . . where intelligence and skill were vital. . . . Demagoguery is more likely . . . when the opposition is indifferent, poorly organized, unresponsive to the needs and wishes of the majority of the voters. . . . In Chicago the Democratic party was split, but when it regained strength, Thompson was defeated."

The closing chapter, "The Mark of the Demagogue," is an enlightening discussion of his "tools of the trade" and what makes him "tick." The reader comes to understand the remark: "It ain't how the ballots go into the box that counts. It's how they come out."

Luthin has provided thirty-seven pages of "Notes on Sources" and an index. Allan Nevins contributes a brief introduction.

H. E. P.

Iron Road to Empire: the History of 100 Years of the Progress and Achievements of the Rock Island Lines. By William Edward Hayes. (Simmons-Boardman: New York, 1953. Pp. 306. \$5.00.)

As assistant to the president of the Rock Island lines the author was in a position to know railroading from the management viewpoint from which *Iron Road to Empire* is essentially written. Hayes, a former newspaperman and free-lance writer, describes the history as "a factual account of a century of growth and setbacks through periods of high prosperity and desperate decline."

He has done a good job of unraveling the tangled threads of corporate growth, organization and reorganization. As a history of the Rock Island from the "head end" it is an honest appraisal. Inner conflicts in the corporate

structure—frequent struggles among owners, creditors and management—are clearly indicated. No attempt is made to cover up the skulduggery which frequently involved officers and directors of the corporation. The accomplishments of Hayes' boss, John D. Farrington, are recounted with justifiable pride. Readers may find some parts too detailed.

As a champion of the Rock Island, Hayes views most of the activity in Washington as bureaucratic interference. Robert R. Young and others who sought to control the railroad's destiny are criticized.

There is lacking a concept of what the railroad did for people, for agriculture and for industry. Better-seed campaigns are almost the only mention of relations between the farmers and the railroad. There is no mention of Granger laws. Gross receipts fail to picture the railroad's contribution to the development of the country. Employees are treated as a wage problem.

There are no footnotes and only a limited bibliography—the valuable Leonard Collection in Iowa City, for example, was evidently not consulted. Despite its limitations, the book is a contribution and reads well.

Stout State College

DWIGHT L. AGNEW

The Professor Goes West. By Elmo Scott Watson. (Illinois Wesleyan University Press: Bloomington, 1954. Pp. 138. \$2.00.)

The "professor" of the title is John Wesley Powell, and the book consists of excerpts from reminiscences and letters written back to newspapers, with commentary by Dr. Watson, giving the story of Powell's Western explorations from 1867 to 1874. These detailed accounts will be enjoyed by all those interested in the development of the West, and particularly by those who have read the shorter accounts in *Powell of the Colorado* or *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*.

The final editing was done after Dr. Watson's death by Julia S. Watson as "a supplement, in effect, to the chapter 'The Professor Goes West,' in *The Illinois Wesleyan Story: 1850-1950* by Elmo Scott Watson." Footnotes are in their proper place at the bottom of each page, but there is no bibliography or index.

J. N. A.



ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Aurora Historical Society sponsored the annual Old Settlers' Day at Phillips Park August 17. The program was presented by the Aurora Women's Club Chorus, with solos by Mrs. Helen Manning Meiers and square dancing by the Y-Squares. Awards presented included those to the oldest man and woman present.

The Bond County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Greenville on August 31. John H. Nowlan was elected president; Mrs. Charles J. Dawdy and Miss Evelyne McCracken, vice-presidents; C. Douglas Hoiles, treasurer; Mrs. Frank V. Davis, secretary; Scott Apple, Frank Bauer, Fred Baumberger, Sr., Harry Bilyeu, H. Denny Donnell, Lyman Floyd, C. Douglas Hoiles, Russell Hunter, Fred E. Martin, E. W. Merry, John H. Nowlan and C. I. Watson, directors. Dues will be \$1.00 per year and meetings are to be held the second Tuesday of each quarter.

A pageant featuring events of Cairo history and directed by Laura Maud Connell was the highlight of the third annual Magnolia Festival sponsored by the Cairo Historical Society May 20-22. Store windows were decorated, "Miss Magnolia" was crowned and historic homes of the city were visited.

The Galena Historical Society held its annual meeting on June 6. Officers for the coming year are: Mrs. Harry L. Heer, president; Dr. Ray E. Logan, vice-president; Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr., secretary; Joseph T. Hissem, treasurer; Mrs. Guss Ambre, Katherine Delihant, Stanley R. Leay,

Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr. and Mrs. Theodore Oppido, directors. A report on improvements to the museum building was read and plans for future improvements made.

The Society was host to the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on October 7-8, a report of which will appear in the Winter issue.

The Geneva Historical Society held its annual meeting May 22 at the Unitarian Church. A plaque was presented to the church and a resumé of its history read. Officers elected were: Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Frank Jarvis and Mary Wheeler, vice-presidents; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary. William K. Bullock and Mrs. O. B. Simon were elected directors for a three-year term.

The Society sponsored a historical exhibit in the window of the First National Bank June 20-27.

The La Salle County Historical Society met on July 31 at the historical museum in Somonauk. Mrs. Marie Louise Olmstead was in charge of the historical display, and Horace Hickok of Troy Grove was program chairman.

The Logan County Historical Society sponsored an Old Settlers' Day celebration at Mt. Pulaski on September 9. Lieutenant Governor John W. Chapman and Superintendent Robert G. Miley of the Division of Parks and Memorials were the principal speakers. Charles W. Hanslow, president of the Mt. Pulaski Chamber of Commerce, presided.

Irving Brant of Washington, D.C., biographer of James Madison, spoke on "Madison and the Empire of Free Men" at the dedication September 11 of a plaque at the courthouse in Edwardsville commemorating the creation of Madison County and President Madison. The plaque was presented by the Madison County Bar Association, and members of the Madison County and Alton Area historical societies were special guests. Irving Dilliard, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, accepted the plaque in answer to the presentation speech by Attorney Burton C. Bernard of Granite City.

The Nauvoo Historical Society met at the shelter house in Nauvoo State Park on July 19. Wayne Earls, first vice-president, presided in the absence of Mrs. C. H. Brant, president. Special guests were Representative Rollo R. Robbins of Augusta and Miss Rosella Zumkeller of Springfield.

The State has donated the Rheinberger-Masberg House to the Society to be furnished as a museum. Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Division of Parks and Memorials, attended the meeting to aid the Society in its plans. The museum was open on July 29, when several hundred newsmen visited the city to select the Grape Festival Queen, and during the Grape Festival September 3-5. After more exhibits and facilities are installed it is planned to have the museum open to the public at regular hours. A nominal admission fee will be charged to help defray expenses.

The Ogle County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting May 31 at the Stillman Valley grade school. The Society has 440 members, two life members and 17 honorary members. Mrs. A. H. Beebe, president of the Society, presided, and Mrs. Vivian Carter Johnson of Rockford was the speaker. Boy Scout Troop 62 of Stillman Valley presented the colors and gave the pledge of allegiance.

The Society has prepared attractive place mats noting the places of historical interest in the county, for general distribution. Mrs. Isaac Canfield, Edith Carmichael, Kenneth Cleaver, Frank Coffman, Victory Conkey, George Etnyre, Jr., Willard Jones, C. C. Parks, Russell Poole, Lillian Storz, C. M. Tilton and E. Webster were elected members of the board.

The Perry County Historical Society closed its charter with 49 members at a meeting at the Du Quoin Fairgrounds on August 1. William F. Farley of Harrisburg, president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and secretary of the Greater Egypt Association, addressed the group. Short reports were given by D. A. Purdy, Mrs. D. A. Morris, Arch Voight and President J. Wesley Neville.

On July 28 members of the group visited the site of the old Du Quoin Female Seminary.

Ladies of the St. Charles Historical Society are on hand to answer questions of visitors to the city's historical museum in the Municipal Building, open Sundays from 2:30 to 4:30 P. M.

The Saline County Historical Society met at Golconda on August 2. Visits to several places of historic interest in the city were followed by a pot-luck supper at Dam No. 51 on the Ohio River, after which the group discussed events in Golconda history.

On September 6 the Society met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George

Davenport in Harrisburg. After a potluck supper a paper, "The Development of Harrisburg 1853 to 1910," prepared by Mrs. E. B. Webster, was read. Short sketches of family histories were given by descendants of early settlers. The Society then visited three of the oldest houses in the city, the homes of Charles A. Mitchell, Clyde Wilmoth and J. W. Towle.

Officers of the Wayne County Historical Society are: Wasson W. Lawrence, president; Loren Harris, vice-president; Lila L. Stonemetz, recording secretary; Mrs. Wilma Slagel, corresponding secretary; the Rev. John C. Lappin, treasurer; Otis Allen, S. O. Dale, Mrs. Frank Heidinger, Peter G. Rapp, Charles Read and Mrs. Lex Tickner, directors.

The Wilmette Historical Commission—Horace Holley, chairman; Bailey W. Shearer, vice-chairman; Mrs. Eli W. Garrison, secretary; Charles C. Henderson, treasurer; F. Dewey Anderson, Rebecca Fitch, Mrs. Tracy E. Johntz and Margaret Nanzig—presented its seventh annual report in May. The museum in the Village Hall has been redecorated and reopened with many additions to the exhibits.

On Charter Day, September 19, 1954 the Commission dedicated a plaque marking the site of the log cabin of Antoine Ouilmette, from whom the village took its name, at the foot of Lake Avenue. The Wilmette Rotary Club donated part of the cost of this plaque. Frederick Favor of *Wilmette Life* spoke, outlining events in the early history of the Wilmette area. On Charter Day, 1955 the Commission dedicated a marker commemorating Green Bay Trail where it passed through Wilmette. On May 15 the Lake Shore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Colonists, in co-operation with the Commission, unveiled a plaque at Sheridan Road and Canterbury Court, marking the site of the first Wilmette school and of the North Ridge Meeting House, which used a later school building on the same site.

GOVERNOR DEDICATES MARKET HOUSE

Governor William G. Stratton dedicated the old Galena Market House, restored by the State of Illinois, on September 24. This now joins the Grant Memorial Home, presented to General Ulysses S. Grant by the city of Galena after the Civil War, the Grant & Perkins Leather Goods Store, the Galena Historical Museum, the old Custom House, the century-old DeSoto House with its historical exhibits, and the homes of Generals John A. Rawlins and William R. Rowley as one of the tourist attractions which are open to Galena visitors.

On September 24-25 seven privately-owned homes were open to visitors during the sixth annual Tour of Historic Galena Homes—one the home occupied by Grant before the war. The tour was sponsored by the Guild of the First Presbyterian Church. This church is 117 years old and the oldest such building in Illinois in continuous service.

AERONAUTICS DEPARTMENT FILM

A twenty-minute color film entitled "Illinois Aviation," depicting the progress of aviation in Illinois and the achievements, duties and responsibilities of the Department, has been prepared by the Department of Aeronautics. Three prints of the film are available for free loan to business, fraternal, school groups and historical societies or to television stations, on application to the Department at Capital Airport, Springfield.

CIVIL WAR BOOK CLUB

Beginning in October, 1955, the new Civil War Book Club is offering its members each month autographed first editions of books on the Civil War. Ralph G. Newman, a director of the State Historical Society and proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 18 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, is president of the Club and its headquarters will be at the Book Shop.

The books will be chosen by an editorial board consisting of Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winner, editor of *American Heritage*, author of a Civil War trilogy; Stanley F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society and author of *The Army of Tennessee*; Allan Nevins, professor of history at Columbia University, president of the Society of American Historians and author of *Ordeal of the Union* and *The Emergence of Lincoln*; Benjamin P. Thomas, author of *Abraham Lincoln: a Biography*, *Lincoln's New Salem* and other books on the Civil War President, and former executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association; and Bell I. Wiley, professor of history at Emory University, president of the Southern Historical Association and author of *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank*.

The memoirs of Sylvanus Cadwallader, correspondent of the *Chicago Times* and *New York Herald* at Grant's headquarters, the manuscript of which has been in the State Historical Library since 1929 and has been used by such historians as J. G. Randall, Lloyd Lewis, Louis Starr, Avery Craven, Earl Schenck Miers and Dr. Thomas, is the new Club's first offering as edited by Dr. Thomas, former trustee of the Library and director of the Illinois State Historical Society. In book form it is entitled *Three Years with Grant*.

DAVY CROCKETT FILMS MADE AT CAVE-IN-ROCK

Progress on two Davy Crockett films being made for television at Cave-in-Rock State Park was slowed down by rain, intense heat, insects, extraneous noise, and particularly by the crowds which gathered to see star Fess Parker and his fellow-actors. The filming, begun July 1, had been expected to take three weeks, but continued into August.

TENTH SEASON OF LINCOLN PLAY

The Abe Lincoln Players of Springfield presented Robert E. Sherwood's Pulitzer Prize play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* for the tenth consecutive season at Kelso Hollow Theater in New Salem State Park, August 18-21 and 26-28. The New Salem performances of the Sherwood play have been witnessed by over 200,000 spectators. As in previous years, Representative G. William Horsley of Springfield took the part of Lincoln.

BESTOR NAMED VISITING PROFESSOR AT OXFORD

Dr. Arthur Bestor, president of the Illinois State Historical Society 1954-1955, has been named Harmsworth professor of American history at Oxford University for 1956-1957. This professorship, endowed in 1920, goes annually to an American chosen by a special board from a list named by historians of America.

Professor Bestor, a member of the University of Illinois history faculty since 1947, is the author of *Backwoods Utopias* and *Educational Wastelands*. His latest book, *The Restoration of Learning*, was published September 19, 1955.

LINCOLN COLLEGE "MUSEUM OF THE PRESIDENTS"

At the ninetieth anniversary commencement exercises of Lincoln College on May 29 the "Museum of the Presidents" was dedicated. The room in University Hall, oldest building on the campus (1865-1866), contains letters and documents written by all the presidents of the United States from Washington to Eisenhower, presidential medals, photographs, prints and other memorabilia. The museum was dedicated by retired Major General John H. Hilldring, former assistant secretary of state. It has been developed under the supervision of Ralph G. Newman, trustee of the College and proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop.

Honorary degrees were awarded to H. Leslie Atlass, Chicago, vice-president, CBS radio and television; General Hilldring; the Rev. L. Wilson

Kilgore, pastor of the Lakewood (Ohio) Presbyterian Church; Dr. Karl A. Meyer, Chicago, medical superintendent, Cook County institutions; Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Salt Lake City, donor of the New Salem Lincoln statue; David H. Moskowitz, associate superintendent of New York City schools; Allan Nevins, historian and Columbia University professor; Philip D. Sang, Chicago philanthropic and civic leader; and Governor William G. Stratton. The nine degrees represented the nine decades of the College's history.

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JOHN HENRY HAUBERG

JOHN HENRY HAUBERG

1869-1955

The Illinois State Historical Society is mourning the death of John H. Hauberg, whose contributions to our Society over nearly a half century are too numerous to mention. He served the Society ably as director and president. He inspired all who learned to know him with a deep love for the history of our state. He encouraged our youth by means of hikes to appreciate nature, the birds, the flowers, the trees, inspiring youth and others with ideals of conservation of our rich natural resources. He urged our youth to learn from our forefathers those virtues which made it possible for them to tame the wilderness and build a new world on the banks of the Mississippi. Thus he inspired the Junior Historian movement in Illinois and his support made the founding of the *Illinois Junior Historian*, now in its ninth year, possible. For one of his many contributions to the Illinois State Historical Society

BE IT RESOLVED, That this Society create an annual John H. Hauberg Prize of twenty-five dollars for the best historical essay contributed to the *Illinois Junior Historian*.

Resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Galena, Illinois, October 7, 1955. Drafted and presented by O. Fritiof Ander.

An excellent biographical sketch of Mr. Hauberg by Dr. O. Fritiof Ander, entitled "John H. Hauberg 'The Standing Bear,'" was published in the Summer 1952 issue of this *Journal* (pages 137-45). Supplementing this is the following data based on articles in the *Rock Island Argus*:

JOHN H. HAUBERG, historian, industrialist and civic, cultural and religious leader, died at 9:30 P.M. September 13, 1955 in Moline Lutheran Hospital after an extended illness of heart disease. He was eighty-five years old. For forty-three years his home had been the large and beautiful one on Twenty-third Street hill at Fourteenth Avenue, Rock Island.

Mr. Hauberg was born in Coe Township, Rock Island County, on November 22, 1869, the son of Marx David Hauberg and Anna Margaret (Frels) Hauberg. He was a member of a pioneer family of the county; his grandfather, Johann Detlev Hauberg, a native of Germany, came to the United States in 1848, acquired and farmed considerable land in Coe Township and died there in 1886.

During the first twenty years of John H. Hauberg's life, his experiences were those common to all boys of the farm, consisting of the performance of all kinds of farm work in the summer and attending the country schools in winter, except for one winter spent at the old Port Byron Academy. After he reached twenty-one, he went out to see the world and spent several months at work in lumber camps in Missouri and Arkansas, and a similar period on a large cattle ranch in Wyoming.

In 1894 he completed a course at Duncan's Davenport Business College, and then enrolled at Valparaiso University at Valparaiso, Indiana. There he completed both the scientific and classic courses offered, being graduated in 1897. In the autumn he entered the law college of the University of Michigan, receiving his law diploma in 1900.

During the summer of 1899, he enjoyed a bicycle trip of 1,200 miles, visiting Washington, D.C., New York City and other places of interest. Six months more were spent in travel in Europe; then in October, 1901, he returned to Illinois and passed the Illinois bar examination. He practiced law in Moline from 1901 to 1911, then moved his office to Rock Island and after a few years discontinued practice. His activities also included the organization and stimulation of Sunday schools in several counties and boys' work. From 1909 to 1923 he led a boys' fife, drum and bugle corps. He was attorney for the Rock Island Law and Order League and was one of the most active campaigners in this area against gambling, prostitution, and alliances of officials with law violators.

On June 29, 1911, John Hauberg married Susanne Christine Denkmann, the youngest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Carl August Denkmann of Rock Island. Mrs. Hauberg died February 13, 1942.

Mr. Hauberg was honored on his eighty-fifth birthday anniversary, November 22, 1954, at a dinner. At that time Augustana College distributed a book dedicated to him as *The John H. Hauberg Historical Essays*. The book contains articles by six of the nation's outstanding historians.

Mr. Hauberg was a recognized authority on the history of Rock Island County and the Indian lore of the Black Hawk country, of which Rock Island is the center. His collection of Indian relics and souvenirs of pioneer days in the western Illinois country was large, and scores of persons enjoyed viewing it at his home. His contribution to the study of local history was recognized in 1953 by an award from the American Association for State and Local History.

He was a member of six state historical societies. He served as a director of the Illinois State Historical Society from 1918 to 1928 and from 1936 to 1951, as a vice-president 1928-1941 and as president 1941-1942. At a dinner given by the Rock Island County Historical Society on May 28, 1952 the State Society presented him a scroll in honor of his thirty-three years of service. He was the author of the following articles in the Society's *Journal*:

"The Rock Island County Historical Society Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Campbell's Island," VII (Oct., 1914), 287-90.

"William A. Meese, 1856-1920," XIII (Apr., 1920), 138-40.

"The New Black Hawk State Park," XX (July, 1927), 265-81.

"Black Hawk's Mississippi," XXII (Apr., 1929), 93-163.

"Frederick Carl Denkmann," XXII (Apr., 1929), 207-10.

"Report of the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of the Westernmost Campaign of the Revolutionary War, at Rock Island, Illinois, Sept. 14 to 20, 1930," XXIII (Jan., 1931), 557-78.

"Why the Rock Island County Sesqui-Centennial," XXIII (Jan., 1931), 578-603.

"United States Army Surgeons at Fort Armstrong," XXIV (Jan., 1932), 608-29.

"A Confederate Prisoner at Rock Island: the Diary of Lafayette Rogan," XXXIV (March, 1941), 26-49.

"Hard Times in Illinois in 1780," XLIV (Autumn, 1951), 231-40.

In addition he wrote three articles published in the Society's *Transactions*:

"Black Hawk's Home Country," XX (1914), 113-21.

"Indian Trails Centering at Black Hawk's Village," XXVIII (1921), 87-109.

"The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832," XXXIX (1932), 91-134.

He also was the author of "Black Hawk's Watch Tower" and numerous articles for other publications.

When plans were set in motion in Rock Island in 1930 for the observance of the sesquicentennial of the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Hauberg was designated as chairman of the committee in charge of general arrangements.

A few years later, after construction by a Civilian Conservation Corps company of a massive stone museum at Black Hawk State Park, Mr. Hauberg was named by the Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings to take charge of equipping the museum with hundreds of authentic Indian relics and numerous documents relating to Black Hawk's occupancy of the park site as a favorite retreat. He arranged for placing on exhibit there many of the articles from his own Indian collections. He founded in 1940 the annual Indian pow-wows in that park and was a leader in the creation of county forest preserves. He was a prominent member of the Rock Island County Pioneer and Old Settlers' Association, and served as chairman of the executive committee. For a number of years he was president of the Rock Island County Historical Society, and retained its honorary presidency until his death.

Mr. Hauberg's business acumen and good judgment were recognized in banking circles in his home city. He was the first chairman of the board of the Rock Island Bank & Trust

Company, formed in January, 1932, by the consolidation of three banks. Previously he had served as vice-president and director of the Manufacturers Trust & Savings Bank and as a director of the Central Trust & Savings Bank.

For nearly three decades Mr. Hauberg was identified with the numerous firms operated by Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann interests in Rock Island, the Midwest and other states in directorial capacities, and held company offices in them.

In September, 1935, when it was voted to consolidate the retail yards of Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann in a new corporation to be known as the Rock Island Lumber Company, Mr. Hauberg, who had been serving as vice-president of the Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann Company, was elected president.

Mr. Hauberg succeeded his late father-in-law as president of the Rock Island Lumber & Coal Company, which operated retail yards in Kansas, Oklahoma and Colorado, and as vice-president of both the Rock Island Lumber & Manufacturing Company and Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann of Rock Island.

Mr. Hauberg was elected president of the Rock Island Sash and Door Works in October, 1935. He was advanced from first vice-president to succeed the late J. P. Weyerhaeuser of Tacoma, Washington. Other firms controlled by the Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann interests which he headed at the same time were the Rock Island Millwork Company, the Quad-City Yards, Inc., the Rock Island Lumber Company, the Rock Island Lumber & Coal Company, the St. Louis Sash & Door Works.

He was for a number of years secretary of the Rock River and Mississippi Valley Investment Companies. He also was a director of the Servus Rubber Company.

His activities and interest in character-building agencies in Rock Island extended over a long period of years, and his contributions to their welfare and equipment were many. This was especially true of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. He served as a director of the Rock Island Y.M.C.A. for thirty-seven years, and his work was further recognized when he

was named as vice-president of the Illinois Y.M.C.A., and when he served as chairman of the Illinois Y.M.C.A. older boys' state conference.

He and Mrs. Hauberg gave to the Y.M.C.A. the boys' outing place known as Camp Hauberg, and they invested a considerable sum in making it one of the finest camping places for boys and young men in the Middle West. Located on the shore of the Mississippi River near Port Byron, it occupies an ideal woodland location. Mr. and Mrs. Hauberg likewise contributed much to Archie Allen Camp, used by girls of the Rock Island Y.W.C.A. and likewise located on the river.

Mr. Hauberg and his children gave \$200,000 for a new Rock Island Y.W.C.A. building in memory of wife and mother. The Susanne Denkmann Hauberg Memorial Y.W.C.A. was completed in 1954.

Mr. Hauberg's interest in the out-of-doors was great. His was the guiding hand in the formation of the Black Hawk Hiking Club, composed of Quad-City residents, in 1920. He was elected president of the club at its founding and was re-elected each year since.

Skilled in the art of living outdoors as the woodsmen did decades ago, he derived keen enjoyment from the club's hikes. He not only led many of the local trips taken each year by the Black Hawk organization, but he was in charge of the group's annual "big hikes," by truck which covered practically the entire country and portions of Canada and Mexico.

For seven years Mr. Hauberg was a member of the Sixth Infantry, Illinois National Guard. He served several years as a board member of the Rock Island chapter of the American Red Cross, this period including the year and a half of American participation in World War I. During that war he served as chairman of the Y.M.C.A. district recruiting committee and was a member of the canteen committee.

Prominently identified with civic enterprises to which he devoted both time and money, Mr. Hauberg held numerous

civic offices. He was a past president of the Rock Island Chamber of Commerce, an officer and board member of the Bethany Home Protective Association for thirty-one years, including a period as secretary, a board member for thirty years of the Tri-City Symphony Orchestra, and a past president of the Rock Island Rotary Club. He was a past national counselor of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

He was a member of the board of Augustana College for thirty-six years, and his service in this connection was recognized in June, 1930 when he received the degree of Juris Utriusque Doctor (J.U.D.) from the college. He was a member of the Rock Island library board for twenty years and a director for many years of Chippiannock Cemetery.

Mr. Hauberg served a one-year term as president of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League after being elected in May, 1930 at the League's convention in Springfield. He and Mrs. Hauberg were for years interested in the operation of the former West End Settlement in Rock Island, a religious and cultural institution in the west section of the city.

Mr. Hauberg was for four terms elected president of the Luther League of Illinois, and served as president and as a member of the state executive board of the Illinois Sunday School Association. Later he was a member of the executive committee of the Illinois Council of Religious Education.

Mr. Hauberg is survived by two children, John Henry Hauberg, Jr., of Seattle, Washington, and Mrs. Edward C. Sweeney of Washington, D.C. Other survivors include seven grandchildren, Susanne, Edward, Jr., Phillip, Harriet and John Henry Sweeney and Fay and Sue Hauberg; a brother, Louis D. Hauberg of Port Byron; and two sisters, Mrs. Eli Furland and Mrs. John E. Furland, both of Mitchell, South Dakota.

Funeral services were held at 2 P.M. September 16 in St. John's Lutheran Church. The Rev. E. C. Munson, pastor, and Dr. Conrad J. Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, officiated. Burial was in Chippiannock Cemetery.

MICHAEL KELLY LAWLER:
MEXICAN AND CIVIL WAR OFFICER

BY J. T. DORRIS

MICHAEL KELLY LAWLER was born on November 16, 1814 in County Kildare, Ireland, and came to the United States with his parents, John and Elizabeth Kelly Lawler, in March, 1816. After a few weeks in New York they moved to Frederick County, Maryland, where on November 7, 1818 John Lawler applied for naturalization. In November, 1819 the family came to Gallatin County, Illinois, where they lived the rest of their lives.¹ Michael acquired a fair education for that time and place, attending school during the three- to six-month terms each year until his middle teens and applying himself to reading while school was not in session. His studious habits were encouraged by his father.

¹ Lawler Papers, Southern Illinois University Library, Carbondale (microfilm copy, Illinois State Historical Library). The writer received these papers in 1927 from General Lawler's son R. E. Lawler, with the understanding that after the life of the General had been prepared for publication the papers would be properly placed in Illinois. Following the delivery of the original version of this biography before the Southern Illinois Historical Society in 1952 the papers were entrusted to that organization, which deposited them in the Clint Clay Tilton Library at Southern Illinois University. General Lawler's sword, pistol and regimental flag, also received from R. E. Lawler, have been deposited in Springfield. The third-person autobiographical sketch of Michael K. Lawler in the Lawler Papers has been invaluable in filling gaps in his life. The General's father died on April 23, 1835 and his mother in October, 1844.

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Michael married Elizabeth H. Crenshaw, daughter of John and Sinia Taylor Crenshaw, in September, 1837. John Hart Crenshaw was a large land owner and at one time lessee of the Gallatin Salines. His mansion "Hickory Hill," often called the "Old Slave House," completed in 1842 after four years of building, is still standing. The Constitution of 1818 made an exception to the prohibition of slavery in the state in favor of the salines, and strange and fantastic stories about Crenshaw's traffic in Negroes are related to visitors to the mansion. He was once indicted and tried for selling a family of free Negroes into slavery; his acquittal was believed by some to have been due to his wealth and influence.²

Michael and Elizabeth Lawler settled on a farm near Equality. By 1840 he was apparently farming on a fairly large scale, since the census showed his "family" as including four males between 20 and 30 years of age and one between 30 and 40, all of whom except himself must have been farmhands. The one male under five, one female under five and one female between 20 and 30 were his wife and two children. On September 7, 1842 Lawler joined with John, Robert and William T. Crenshaw as securities on John E. Hall's bond as county collector. He served on the grand jury in 1843, and on December 9 of that year School Commissioner Samuel Elder reported a loan of \$5,000 of school funds at 12 per cent to John Crenshaw, Lawler and D. I. T. McCool for twelve months.³

On October 21, 1845 he was informed by L. J. Warrington, Chief of the Navy's Bureau of Yards and Docks, that "Your offer . . . for furnishing Stone at the Navy Yard Memphis at Two Dollars and sixty eight cents per perch, has been accepted." However, the contract specified that the

² James L. Sisk, *The Old Slave House ("Hickory Hill")* (pamphlet); John Mulcaster and Barbara Burr Hubbs, "The Ramona of the Old Slave House" (MS, copy in possession of the writer). Mrs. Lawler's sister Margaret became the wife of Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register* [Springfield] 1846-1863.

³ Census Records, 1840, Illinois, Vol. 4, pp. 17-18; Gallatin County Commissioners' Records 1840-1846, pp. 188, 215, 295 (transcript, Illinois State Archives).

price "would include material, which," wrote Lawler, "was far from my intention when I bid for the work." His later bid of \$3.00 per perch for the stone plus the \$2.68 for construction was too high to receive the contract.⁴

On January 12, 1842 Governor Thomas Carlin commissioned Lawler captain of the Gallatin Guards of the Fourth Regiment of Illinois Militia, with rank to date from September 13, 1841. Already on December 20, 1841 he had petitioned the governor as captain of the Gallatin Guards for "Eighty two Swords & belts, Eighty two pair of pistols and holsters together with there appendages," adding that he had heard that such equipment was available from a disbanded company at Lebanon. Edgar Bogardus, colonel of the Fourth, certified that the company was organized according to law, Secretary of State Lyman Trumbull acknowledged the accompanying bond, and Governor Carlin endorsed "The Qrtr Mstr Genl will deliver arms on the within petition." It was probably with some of these men that Lawler tried to protect Negroes from outrages perpetrated by "Regulators" in 1842. Governor Thomas Ford issued an order on the Quartermaster General in favor of Captain Lawler "for 50 Swords, Pistols, &c.," and recognized his efficiency as a commander by commissioning him Brigadier General of the First Division of the Fourth Brigade of Illinois State Militia on February 11, 1844.

When the United States declared war on Mexico in May, 1846 and Congress and the Governor called for volunteers, Captain Lawler recruited a company at Equality, largely composed of members of his militia company. He was commissioned captain of Company G of the Third Regiment of Illinois Volunteers commanded by Colonel Ferris Foreman of Vandalia. The regiment rendezvoused at Alton where Lawler increased his company to full strength.⁵

⁴ *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], Nov. 13, 1845; Nelson M. Blake, War Records Branch, National Archives, to Donald F. Tingley, June 17, 1953, enclosing photostats of letters from National Archives.

⁵ Lawler to Carlin, Dec. 20, 1841, Governor's Correspondence, Ill. State Archives; Ford to Quartermaster General, Executive Records, Vol. 4, 1843-1847, p. 456; all

The Third Regiment left Alton by steamboat on July 22, 1846 and eight days later encamped on Jackson's 1815 battleground near New Orleans. On August 4 they embarked on Gulf steamers for Brazos Island near the mouth of the Rio Grande. Lawler left no written record of his services in this campaign; but the published *Journal* of William W. Bishop, captain of Company D of the same regiment, pictures the 'Third's activities.'⁶ Bishop wrote:

The Brazos Island, upon which we and the 4th Illinois were encamped, is a low sand bank; water of a miserable quality is obtained by sinking barrels in the sand; the island is some ten miles in circumference, destitute of vegetation—it had been the temporary encampment of several thousand soldiers who had preceded us, *en route* for the Rio Grande. The desolation of the place was equaled only by the pestiferous odors, which had attracted flies in countless myriads. ... On the 13th [of August], the 3d and 4th, under Col. Baker [Edward D. Baker, colonel of the Fourth Illinois], took up the line of march for the Rio Grande. ... The Rio was made on the evening of the 13th. ...

On the night of the 29th, our encampment was deluged with water—all our defences overflowed, and those who had neither box or trunk upon which to take refuge, had the pleasure of standing all night in the water. ... In this encampment the measles broke out. ...

Our camp having become intolerable, on the 9th of September, we commenced moving up the Rio, to the town of Burita, to which five companies arrived on the 10th. Here we found ourselves, to our infinite satisfaction, out of the mud and again on dry land. ...

We embarked the 15th on board a steamer ... and on the 16th, landed

other documents in Lawler Papers. The Gallatin Guards, a light horse company of 72 rank and file attached to the Fourth Brigade, First Division, Illinois Militia, continued in existence until the time of the Mexican War, when most of its members enlisted in Lawler's infantry company. In Isaac H. Elliott, *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War and the Mexican War* (Springfield, 1882), xxix, is the statement that Lawler also served in the Black Hawk War. No other evidence of such service has been located, however, and Lawler was only seventeen at the time.

⁶ W[illiam] W. Bishop, *A Journal of the Twelve Months Campaign of Gen. Shields' Brigade in Mexico in the Years 1846-7, Compiled from Notes of Lieutenants J[ohn] J. Adams and H[enry] C. Dunbar* (St. Louis, 1847), 5-14, 16-18, 21-22, 24, 27, 31-33, 35. Bishop, Adams, Dunbar and Jones, who was on the trip to Monterrey, were all officers of Co. D, 3d Ill. No "Sergt. Eddy" is found in the roster of the 3rd or 4th Illinois in Elliott, *Services of Illinois Soldiers*. In civilian life Bishop was editor of the *Charleston* (Ill.) *Courier*, and on his return from Mexico started a paper at Charleston called *Rough and Ready*, which supported General Taylor's presidential candidacy.

at a point fifteen miles below Matamoros, where the 3d and 4th Illinois encamped as a brigade, under General [James] Shields. On the same evening, there was an invitation given to us, by the Alcalde of this place, to a fandango, preceded by a bull fight. ...

On the 20th, an order came for the brigade to move up to Camargo, ... one hundred and sixty-nine dangerously ill ... were ... sent to Matamoros. ... Camargo was reached ... on the 28th, at night, and the first news that greeted our ears, was that an express from Gen. [Zachary] Taylor had arrived, with the official account of the fall of Monterey. ...

Our army suffered greatly upon the Rio Grande from disease, which circumstance has given the country a bad reputation; there were causes, other than those incident to the climate, which decimated our ranks in this region. Inactivity and want of excitement were the principal—the greater portion of our volunteers came from their farms, and were accustomed to daily labor; the sudden transition—the entire change of diet and habits—was of itself equal to produce the sickness experienced. ... Individuals from towns suffered far less than those from the country; ... the feeble clerk or mechanic, who had been dying by piece-meal at home, was exhilarated by exposure in the open air and exercise. ...

To relieve the monotony of existence [at Camargo], and "for other purposes," on the 30th of October, Capt. Lawler, Lieut. [R. C.] Jones, Sergt. Eddy and myself, made a party to visit General Taylor, at Monterey. ... We ... encamped in the enclosure of a Mexican, fifteen miles distant. Travelers in this country pack their own provisions, otherwise the chances would be in favor of starvation; it being a rare circumstance that a Mexican village would have a supply sufficient to furnish a party of half a dozen Americans. We purchased green corn stalks for our horses, as they were mustangs, and would not eat grain ...; we also bought all the eggs in the ranche, which were sold here at thirty-seven and a half cents per dozen, and with our own supplies, made supper—the natives looking on with astonishment at the amount consumed. ...

On the 4th [of November] ... we reported to General Taylor and partook of the hospitalities of his table. ... We remained three days at the camp of Gen. Taylor, during which time we partially examined the defences in and about Monterey. ...

On the 11th of November, we arrived without accident, at camp in Camargo, and found things as dull and insipid as possible; the weather extremely warm, thermometer standing to-day at 100 degrees in the shade. Sickness on the increase—full two hundred on the sick report, in the third regiment. Every hour is heard the muffled drum, and the volley of musketry,

over the grave of a dead soldier, whom his comrades are consigning to the sands.

November 16th—We received the joyful intelligence to hold ourselves in readiness to leave for Matamoros. ... On the 24th, a false alarm, as it proved, was reported in camp, stating that an encampment of several hundred Mexicans were discovered three miles south of our position. Five hundred men ... marched before day ... and at sunrise we had enclosed our supposed enemies. ... Instead of the anticipated deadly onset, our ears were saluted with loud peals of laughter, it being discovered that we had surrounded a party of thirty Texan Rangers, who were on their way to join Gen. Taylor. ...

November 26th—Struck tents and went on board a steamer bound for the mouth of the Rio Grande. ... We left Camargo without one feeling of regret—our only reminiscence of this vile Mexican town, is of suffering, and a sad sympathy for our unfortunate countrymen, whom we left in silent ranks upon the banks of the San Juan [Rio Grande]. ...

Our regiment, when leaving Camargo, was a feeble, sickly one; the boisterous hilarity of other days had fled; confinement in miserable quarters, and deprivation of all excitement, had destroyed us. The first indication of returning life, was witnessed the night of the 26th—the joyous laugh was again heard. ...

We made Matamoros on the 29th, and at sundown, on the 30th, were encamped at the mouth. There were no steamships or other transports ready to receive us, and we remained in camp, amusing ourselves as we well could, principally in catching fish, which are very abundant, and of fine quality. ...

December 5th—Orders came down from Gen. [Robert] Patterson, countermanding our voyage, by water, to Tampico, ordering us up to Matamoros, thence by land, to Tampico, via Victoria. ... Matamoros ... is quite healthy, and has the cast of an American city. ... The health of our regiment was, at this time, entirely restored, and the weather becoming cooler, we were in excellent spirits.

December 11th—A grand review was ordered on the plain, between our camp and the city. The 3d and 4th Illinois, 1st Ohio, and the regiment of Tennessee mounted men ... passed in review before Gen. Patterson. The General, in a speech addressed to the 3d and 4th Illinois, stated that he had selected them in preference to other volunteer regiments, as his favorite troops—that we were going into active service, and he was confident he should not be mistaken in the estimation he had made of our character. ...

At ten o'clock, December 14th, we struck tent at Matamoros, and at twelve took up the line of march for Victoria. ... The 3d and 4th Illinois

and the Tennessee mounted regiment, were constituted a brigade, and the command given to Brig. Gen. [Gideon J.] Pillow ... who, on the 17th, appeared at regimental parade, and took command. ... The men suffered for water; the quality taken in the canteens at the morning's encampment was bad, and none was to be had on the road. ...

December 29th—... Our men at this place [San Fernando], helped themselves to liberal supplies of beef, which had become absolutely necessary. The ration of meat is one pound and a quarter per day to each man. This amount, if all meat, would scarcely suffice a healthy man on the march, but when issued by the commissary, one half bone, as would of necessity be the case, to some messes, it was altogether inadequate to satisfy the calls of appetite. ... We were all aware that our government was ignorant of, and intended not, these outrages. ...

January 4th [1847]—... Made a forced march of twenty-nine miles, reaching the city of Victoria at four o'clock in the afternoon. This day our men suffered much—many gave out—the heat and dust exceedingly oppressive; horses and mules dropped dead in the harness. Gen. [John A.] Quitman had reached Victoria several days before our column; ... fifteen hundred Mexicans fled at his entrance without giving battle. Early this morning, Gen. Taylor had reached Victoria with twenty-five hundred men, making, with our column, and Gen. Quitman's upwards of six thousand men concentrated at this point.

The 3d and 4th encamped half a mile below town. ... The weather was warm, the thermometer standing at eighty degrees at sun down. ... In the short space of twenty minutes, a howling norther had prostrated every tent in our encampment, and we were shivering in the icy embrace of old winter, fresh from our native plains. ... Ice, half an inch thick, was found in camp the next morning. ...

January 6th—This day Gen. Taylor visited our brigade; it was the first opportunity the regiment had had of seeing him. He rode a dun mule, attended by a single aid-de-camp, and when within the lines, dismounted, his aid leading the mule. The excitement was intense as the old hero walked through the lines; the hardy volunteers were seen at a respectful distance, crowding in the rear, and not a few rolling up their sleeves and slapping their bare arms in the attitude of fight, at the bare sight of "Rough and Ready." ...

At seven o'clock of the 15th, ... the 3d Illinois, took up the line of march from Victoria. ...

January 22d—... We came to the head of a lagoon, that communicates with Tampico. We were now out of the mountain region, and experienced

that sensible effect which is observed by travelers from the high table lands of Mexico, to the hot lands of the gulf coast. Some of the troops were taken seriously ill. . . .

We found the country from Matamoros to this point, and Mexico generally, to be less infested with snakes and other venomous animals, than we anticipated. Our greatest annoyances were thorns and grass burrs—. . . the weary soldier would carefully feel for a spot with the *fewest* thorns and burrs, before he ventured to sit down. . . .

During this long march, great suffering was endured by the troops, from want of water, blistered feet, and the heat of the weather, but the army was no more the sickly, feeble band that six weeks ago left Matamoros. . . . Exercise and excitement had renovated and invigorated our constitutions. . . . The 3d and 4th Illinois were now again constituted a brigade, and placed under the command of Gen. Shields. . . .

We continued at our encampment north of Tampico until the 26th of February, and then removed to a plain east of the city, where we encamped, awaiting orders to embark for Vera Cruz. Gen. [Winfield] Scott touched at Tampico on the 19th, and immediately issued orders for the speedy transportation of the army "southward." Col. E. D. Baker and Lt. Col. [John] Moore, of the 4th Illinois, arrived from the United States at this time. . . .

On the 6th of March, the 3d and 4th Illinois . . . commenced shipping on board of transports lying in the [Panuco] river. . . . Early on the 7th . . . we spread sail for the open sea. . . . We were all sea sick in a few minutes; our jovial, boisterous band of two hundred were in one short hour converted into the most distressed looking set of poor devils imaginable. . . .

We continued rolling and tumbling on the waves, without making over twenty miles south, until the night of the 11th of March, about midnight, when a norther filled our sails, and in the morning we were dashing onward at the rate of eight miles per hour. . . . [On the 13th] the ship was south of Vera Cruz, and stood off the harbor of Anton Lizardo, which we safely entered, and cast anchor in ten fathoms. . . . We learned that . . . Gen. Taylor . . . had been victorious [at Buena Vista]; . . . we also were informed that Gen. Scott had landed at Vera Cruz and invested the city. . . .

We were obliged to lay at anchor until the 17th, when, the storm having abated, the steamship Alabama came along side and took us in tow; at ten o'clock we were off the Island of Sacrificios, two miles south of the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, whose terrific array of strength was now in full view. . . . We landed at two o'clock. . . .

On the 18th our regiment took up the line of march to the post assigned us, west of the city, one mile from the walls. . . . The country im-

mediately back of our lines is broken sand hills, covered with vegetation, affording good pasturage for cattle. In these hills were daily encounters between our foraging parties and the lancers—fighting lancers and hunting beef was the regular pastime of the volunteer troops; ... and the war outside the lines became, some days, full as interesting as that inside. ...

On the 27th ... the city, castle and all public stores were surrendered.

During the inaction before the army started its advance toward Mexico City, three Illinois soldiers received heavy sentences for looting Mexican homes. This prompted others to bring their loot to Captain Lawler's tent. General Scott advised the return of the objects to the owners, and "silver forks and spoons, several valuable articles of jewelry, fancy combs, and two or three costly fans, aggregating a value of some three hundred dollars" were returned.⁷

On April 9 Shields' brigade, reinforced by a newly arrived New York regiment, started its march toward Mexico City. Its participation in the battle of Cerro Gordo on the eighteenth is described by Bishop:

The 4th and 3d Illinois, and the New York regiment were on the side of the mountain. ... The 3d ... moved by a right flank around the base of the mountain, when, arriving at the gorge, up which stood the Cerro Gordo, we were calmly spoken to by Gen. Scott. ... The General cautioned us to shoot low, and with coolness, stating that he had great confidence in Illinois. ... The grape and round shot from the Cerro passed down this place in a terrific stream, attested by incessant whirring, tearing sounds, and dead bodies of horses and men. Passing through this dangerous defile, the 3d continued to advance until under some high bluffs at the foot of the Cerro Gordo. ...

We ... ascended the high hills opposite the centre of the Mexican line. ... The top of the Cerro was blazing by the discharge of thirty pieces of artillery, and the small arms of 4,000 infantry; the gradual, regular and beautiful advance of the [American] line up the Cerro, resembled the progress of fire upon the prairie. Although exposed to the whole fire of the enemy while ascending the heights opposite the Cerro, our regiment could not refrain from cheering at a sight so glorious. ...

The 3d was filing over the hills leading to the left of the Mexican

⁷ George T. M. Davis, *Autobiography* (New York, 1891), 131-35.

line. ... We marched several hundred yards without meeting with any obstruction, until, arriving within range of a battery of five guns, a deadly shower of grape and cannister fell upon the head of our line. It seemed impossible that any could escape unharmed—the small trees quivered in the storm. At this point Gen. Shields was struck. ... The greatest loss sustained by the 3d, occurred at the same place.

Marching on under this galling fire, we met a body of lancers; the regiment deployed, supposing that an attempt was making to out flank us. After a few rounds the lancers retreated. ... We continued our march a short distance, and ... met Col. Baker, who ... [led] a charge upon the five gun battery which had never ceased raking our line since we came within range. ...

Every man made his way through the chapparal, prickly pears and thorns in an incredible manner; looking at the ground afterwards, it seemed impossible that man could penetrate a place of the kind. There was a clean space of ground, about one hundred and fifty yards wide, before the battery, which stood upon a small elevation. When our line emerged into this open space, rending the air with shouts, the enemy precipitately left his guns; so great was his panic, that cannon shotted and primed were left, which we turned and fired upon his retreating masses.

Our line advanced beyond the battery to the Jalapa road, in which stood the coach of Santa Anna, harnessed, ready to leave. ... In the coach was found a cork leg of Santa Anna's, and near by his cash, amounting to about \$20,000, his dinner, all his papers, provisions, baggage wagons and mules, which fell into the possession of our line. ...

The loss in killed and wounded in Gen. Shields' brigade is as follows: 3d Illinois regiment, 3 killed and 13 wounded; 4th Illinois regiment, 6 officers and 42 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded. ... It may be proper to state that Lieut. Col. Willey [Wilson W. Wiley of Bond County] of the 3d Illinois, with three companies detached from General Shields' brigade, assisted in drawing Capt. Taylor's artillery over the Cerro Gordo hill, on the 18th.⁸

Lawler's company was active in this battle.

The march toward Mexico City was resumed; Jalapa and Perote were occupied without resistance. But when Scott was informed that most of the twelve months' volunteers could not "be induced to reenlist under any circumstances or upon any

⁸ Bishop, *Journal*, 41-43. This cork leg of Santa Anna's is now in the custody of the Adjutant General of Illinois. See also John Nevin King's account of this incident, quoted in the Spring 1953 issue of this *Journal*, p. 15n.

conditions . . . no matter how far into the interior their regiments might have gone at the expiration of their terms of service" he was obliged to halt the advance.⁹

On the 5th [of May] . . . a new order [was] given as follows: that all the twelve months volunteers advance no farther, but that they return back to Vera Cruz, thence take shipping for New Orleans, and there be discharged and paid off. There was found to be seven regiments of twelve months men; 3d and 4th Illinois, 1st and 2d Tennessee infantry, one regiment Tennessee cavalry, one Alabama and one Georgia regiment.

On the 6th of May, the twelve months volunteers took up the line of march for Vera Cruz. . . . The 3d and 4th Illinois started at two o'clock, P.M. . . .

We arrived in the vicinity of Vera Cruz early on the morning of the 10th. . . . The 3d and 4th Illinois commenced embarking on different vessels on the 12th. Seven companies of the 3d Illinois embarked on the steamer Mary Kingsland, and sailed on the 13th for New Orleans, where we arrived on the 18th. . . .

On the 21st our seven companies were mustered out of service, and turned over their arms and accoutrements, and on the 22d were paid off. . . . Our men are starting for home as fast as they are paid off, and can get transportation. . . .

The 3d regiment Illinois volunteers left Alton, Illinois, with 989 men. At the expiration of their term of service they mustered out 450 men, showing a loss of 539 men, of which 140 died in the service by disease, or were killed in battle, and 399 were discharged from the service on account of sickness.¹⁰

Lawler, one of the few Illinois volunteers willing to re-enlist, soon after returning home recruited a company of mounted troops called the Mameluke Legion. Governor Augustus C. French commissioned him captain of this independent cavalry company of 114 officers and men on August 23, 1847. Only two men from the captain's infantry company—Second Lieutenant Samuel L. M. Proctor and Private Abraham Crenshaw (probably Lawler's brother-in-law) —enlisted in the Mamelukes.¹¹

⁹ Davis, *Autobiography*, 165-66.

¹⁰ Bishop, *Journal*, 45-46.

¹¹ Lawler Papers.

The company took the water route to Mexico, apparently landing at Tampico. Adjutant General Elliott says: "Except the common experiences with fever, reptiles and insects, this company had no encounter with foes of any kind, and after some routine service, laborious but unimportant, was returned to the place of enlistment."

Lawler, however, reported defeating a Mexican cavalry force at Horcasitas and taking some prisoners on December 1, 1847; and the artist of his company, Corporal George W. Stickney, made a ten-by-sixteen-inch sketch of the captured fort, showing Lawler reviewing his cavalymen after the Mexicans had fled.¹² In a letter to his friend Congressman John A. McClernand of Shawneetown, Lawler gave particulars concerning this engagement:

The citizens knew nothing of our approach until our advanced guard galloped into the square. Ten minutes after our line was formed Thirty lancers was seen approaching. I detached Lts. Proctor and [John G.] Ridgway with thirty men to charge them. The mexicans on seeing american troops in the square retreated rapidly for a mile and then rallied and formed line of battle, waiting for our detachment which did not keep them long in suspense. When they perceived Proctor and Ridgway bearing down steadily upon [them] they gave way without firing a gun and then the *Races* commenced through the chapparel the Lts gallantly leading. Two mexicans were killed one mortally wounded and one taken prisiner and had it not been that Lt. Ridgway's horse threw him among the rocks in the charge there would have been more *Hombres* killed or captured. This is the first experience of the Mamalukes in this campagin. Col. [William] Gates Comt. here says our young officers deserve credit and has reported our expedition and the good conduct of Lieuts Proctor and Ridgway to the Adj. Genl. All the *Mamalukes* want is a fair field and I will risk my scalp and Reputation that they will be found right side up with Care.¹³

¹² *Ibid.*; Elliott, *Services of Illinois Soldiers*, xxix-xxx; 309-11 (roster of the Mamelukes). Another drawing by Stickney in the Lawler Papers shows an odd-shaped Mexican fort on the Tamisee River, sixty to seventy-five miles from Tampico, with a Mexican captain, lieutenant and corporal as prisoners. Other points of interest about the fort are noted, and the drawing also shows the nature of the surrounding country for many square miles—vegetation, animals, birds, alligators, boats, roads, etc.

¹³ Lawler to McClernand, Tampico, Dec. 10, 1847, McClernand Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

Four members of Lawler's company wrote McClernand asking about prospects for peace, saying "we have been stationed here [Tampico] ever since we came to Mexico and our company has been very sickly here but at this time is better and doing very well." Lieutenant Proctor, however, had other things on his mind:

We have had several scouts but only one of interest our scout to Horcasitas one hundred and ten miles from here on the road to San Luis [San Luis Potosí]. . . . We are drilling four hours per day and are determined that the *Mamelukes* shall not be behind any Troops in the service Regular or Volunteer in Mexico in drill and efficiency.

I perceive by the report of the Secy of War that he advocates the unity of the isolated companies. Illinois has three in this line of operations one at this place and two between Vera Cruz and the Capitol and they should be thrown together to give the Cavalry from Ills a chance for distinction as well as her infantry and in case this should be the policy adopted of which I entertain no doubt. Is not *old Gallatin* entitled to the Major she certainly is. Our company is the largest . . . in the service from our state and the best drilled I am certain and justice would give her the Major Capt M K Lawler being the oldest officer in commission from our county and who has done as much and laboured as hard through fair and adverse circumstances to support the the [*sic*] dignity and keep up the chivalrous feeling of the [people] of Ills through this war is fairly entitled to a Majority In the Infantry Tactics he can not be beat and in Cavalry Tactics he is superior to any officer from Ills and excels any officer at this place [Tampico] Regular or Volunteer and as I have no doubt the President will make the appointments to the Battalion and as Cap Lawlers qualifications are know[n] to him his chance is the best and our friends will not fail I hope of advancing him a notch or two for the benefit of the service the gratification of his friends and the *Honor* of *old Gallatin*.

Sergeant William W. Cayton wrote to the same effect, and James C. Sloo added from Shawneetown: "It is unnecessary for me to say any thing to you in his [Lawler's] behalf, his character & standing needs no endorsement from any *Qr.* & all admit he is the best drill officer in the army." The battalion was never formed.¹⁴

¹⁴ Asa Webb, John Robison, Thomas Powell and Thomas Pool to McClernand, Tampico, Jan. 15, 1848; Proctor to McClernand, Tampico, Jan. 10, 1848; Cayton to

At the end of hostilities the Mamelukes were assigned to guard the army's wagon train from Brownsville at the mouth of the Rio Grande to St. Augustine near the Sabine River in eastern Texas. They were discharged at Shawneetown on October 26, 1848. Twenty-four, however, had been discharged earlier; thirteen died in the service and one on the way home. Eleven were lost in Mexico.¹⁵

Lawler had been examined on December 21, 1844 by Supreme Court Justices James Shields and John Dean Caton, and had taken the required oath to practice law two days later. Though he never practiced regularly, he did present the claims for bounty land of several who served under him. Some of the Mamelukes also authorized him to press claims against the United States for the value of horses and equipage lost in the service and for provender which they had been obliged to buy for their horses.¹⁶

Lawler returned to his Gallatin County home, but his interests were not limited to agriculture. Beginning in February, 1849 the *Southern Illinois Advocate* of Shawneetown carried these advertisements:

GREAT REVOLUTION IN EGYPT!
TREMENDOUS EXCITEMENT!
THE MAMELUKES
ARE IN THE FIELD!
M. K. & T. R. LAWLER

HAVE JUST RECEIVED, and will sell at a small advance, a large assortment of GROCERIES, IRON, NAILS, BOOTS, SHOES, and some staple articles of DRY GOODS. Our establishment is on Main Street, next door above the Bank; where we will at all times be pleased to receive calls from our friends.

We charge nothing for showing our goods.

McClernand, Tampico, Jan. 12, 1848; Sloo to McClernand, Shawneetown, Jan. 27, 1848, all in McClernand Papers.

¹⁵ Lawler Papers.

¹⁶ Henry W. Moore of Equality, who had bought up a number of these claims, was engaged by Lawler's agent J. E. Hill to assist in adjusting them. Moore sent some of the papers to Lawler in Mexico for correction and wrote to McClernand in Washington asking his help with the agencies there. Moore to McClernand, Jan. 6, 14, 22, 29, 1848, McClernand Papers. Some of the soldiers aided by Lawler in this

THE ASIATIC CHOLERA

IS APPROACHING!—THE CRISIS IS AT HAND!—MRS. PARTINGTON REQUESTS THE GOVERNOR TO CALL OUT THE MILITIA.

THE children of Adam who have had the misfortune to be born bare-footed, can obtain BOOTS and SHOES from M. K. and T. R. LAWLER'S—who have all sorts and sizes, for Ladies, Misses, Gentlemen, and Boys.¹⁷

At the September, 1860 term of the Gallatin County Commissioners' Court Lawler, George Moore and John Crenshaw, "commissioners to expend appropriations on Shawneetown and Equality road," made a report. Lawler petitioned to view a road near Equality and was later paid \$25 for his services. He also received \$27.24 for materials purchased as commissioner of addition and repairs to the county poorhouse.¹⁸

But he was ready in 1861 to aid in preserving the Union. Soon after the firing on Fort Sumter Lawler began organizing volunteers to sustain the government. The Eighteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, which he recruited, was mustered into state service at Anna on May 16, 1861 by Ulysses S. Grant, then a captain on the staff of the Illinois adjutant general, and on May 28 into the United States service for three years by Captain Thomas G. Pitcher. Lawler's commission as colonel was issued by Governor Richard Yates on July 24, to date as of May 20, when the Eighteenth had elected him. The ten companies of the regiment were recruited in Perry, Gallatin,

way were Hiram M. Clusky [McClusky?], Hubbard A. Griggs, John W. Jones, Charles Lewis, Ransom Moore, Johnson Reed, Nathaniel Stiff, Stokley Vinson and William Wood. The mother of Peter O'Neill also asked his help in obtaining the money due her son who died at Tampico.

¹⁷ *Southern Illinois Advocate*, Apr. 20, 1849. The printer's notes on both advertisements show that they were first inserted on Feb. 2. The headings illustrate a then prevalent practice of using unrelated "scareheads" in large type to draw readers' attention to advertisements; Lawler's sense of humor is evident in the text. T. R. Lawler was Michael's brother Thomas (see *History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties, Illinois* [Chicago, 1887], 136-37). In the *Advocate* of May 3, 1850, Lawler was advertising "Just received and for sale 100 choice Bacon Hams, suitable for the aristocracy" and "Just Received, 50 bbls Flour." These advertisements contain no mention of Thomas. As the four available *Advocates* of 1851 in the Ill. State Hist. Lib. (May 2, 6, Aug. 4, Oct. 31) contain no Lawler advertisements, it may be presumed that by then he had retired to his Equality farm. Lawler as commissioner appointed by the Gallatin County circuit court sold on June 3, 1850 the real estate involved in *John E. Hall v. Thomas Clayton et al. Ibid.*, May 3, 1850.

¹⁸ Gallatin Co. Commissioners' Records 1860-1864, pp. 2, 3, 12, 27 (transcript, Ill. State Archives).

Jackson, Alexander, Pulaski, Wayne, Jefferson and Union counties.¹⁹

Early in September the Eighteenth petitioned to be placed under the command of McClernand, now a general:

We ... are personally acquainted with General McClernand and have full confidence in his abilities to command. He is one of our own citizens having represented our ninth Congressional district ably in the Halls of Congress. ... Most all of the men composing his brigade are our neighbours and kinsmen.²⁰

The request was granted.

Lawler's regiment was ordered to Bird's Point, Missouri on June 25, 1861. The Colonel's request to McClernand for permission to "go to Springfield Tomorrow on Regimental business and to return by St Louis and draw my pay and also the pay of of [*sic*] Field & Staff officers and if possible to get a paymaster to come down and pay our Regt." is dated August 9 at Mound City. On that date the regiment was ordered to Huff's Station, Missouri, on the Cairo & Fulton Railroad, but returned to Bird's Point on the 14th.²¹

On August 19 Lawler, in command at Bird's Point (Camp Lyon), ordered a three-hundred-man detachment of the 22d Illinois Infantry and a company of the First Illinois Cavalry to capture Charleston, Missouri, which was done with a Union loss of only one killed and seven wounded. Fifty Confeder-

¹⁹ Lawler Papers. "Cairo" wrote from Cairo to the *Illinois State Register* on April 24, 1861: "Major Lawler, after taking steps to raise a brigade, has started for Springfield to learn whether the governor will accept them. He is well and favorably known as a soldier and a citizen in Egypt, and is just the man for such a position in this part of the state." The *Register* of April 27 which contained this communication also stated: "Maj. LAWLER, of Gallatin county, arrived here [Springfield] yesterday, and tendered the governor a brigade of troops, in case of another requisition upon the state. Maj. L. is a veteran of the Mexican campaign, a good soldier and just the man to head an Egyptian legion in support of the stars and stripes." "Yenlo" (probably James Olney, regimental quartermaster of the 18th until he became lieutenant colonel of the 6th Illinois Cavalry on August 18) wrote from Camp Anna on May 16 describing conditions there and stating: "Candidates for offices are as 'plenty as blackberries.' For Colonel, Capt. M. K. Lawler, of Mexican notoriety, stands foremost. I think he will be the Colonel. Capt. S[tephen] G. Hicks, of Washington county, (outside the district), and Capt. Wm. Hunter, of Cairo, are also candidates." *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], May 20, 1861.

²⁰ McClernand Papers (Sept. 2, 1861).

²¹ *Ibid.*

ates were captured and thirteen killed. Later that month the Eighteenth was ordered to Mound City, Illinois "to recruit its health and guard the Gun Boats then being built at that place." On October 5 it was relieved by the 10th Illinois and ordered to Cairo; in a few days it was back at Bird's Point.²²

On November 2 the Eighteenth joined Colonel Richard J. Oglesby's Eighth Illinois in an expedition in pursuit of Jeff Thompson, supposed to be in Bloomfield. When some miles away, the Illinois troops were informed that the Tenth Iowa had captured the town; they were then ordered to follow Thompson toward New Madrid. "Colonels Lawler and [James S.] Rearden marched to Cape Girardeau in two days," reported Oglesby. "The whole force arrived at Bird's Point on Tuesday, the 12th, having marched over 100 miles, and embarked and debarked twice, and traveled by water 85 miles besides, in less than nine days." The Eighteenth then returned to Cairo.²³

On September 7 Lawler wrote McClernand:

I have some 4 or 5 officers in my Regt who are utterly worthless and I would [be] pleased to be rid of them. . . . I have 500 men fit for active duty at a moments notice. Our Guns are the old flint lock . . . and many of them out of order. Can you not let us have some arms of a better discription for the whole or a *part* of the Regt. Gen Freemont promised my Regt Rifles. I am extremely anxious to have efficient arms.

Eight days later he was ordered to repair to Springfield to obtain 4,000 stands of Enfield rifles "Or if such arms can not be procured, such other effective and approved arms as may be had there" for McClernand's brigade.²⁴

A military commission at Cairo of which Lawler was president recommended on October 9 that the "groceries or doggeries, and houses of ill-fame be closed because we firmly believe that they are the cause of a great deal of demoralization

²² *Ibid.*; *War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (cited hereinafter as *O.R.*), Series I, Vol. III, 136-37; Lawler Papers.

²³ *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, 256-57.

²⁴ McClernand Papers.

in the Brigade." Lawler complained on December 14 of a "notorious drunkard" in his regiment who "left his post as a sentry, procured whiskey, and getting furiously drunk, struck a member of his own company in the face with a billet of wood, and otherwise conducted himself" in an objectionable manner, and on December 19 of the father of a soldier who as a visitor was "spreading sedition and mutiny in camp."²⁵

Colonel Lawler was ordered to be court-martialed on account of numerous charges made against him which had been accumulating for months. On December 11 General Henry W. Halleck, commanding at St. Louis, ordered the court-martial to be held on December 16 at Cairo and detailed twelve officers including General McClelland for it. Colonel William H. L. Wallace and Captain Charles T. Hotchkiss of the Eleventh Illinois were president and judge advocate respectively, and most of the other members of the court were officers of Illinois regiments.²⁶

The most serious charge deserves explanation in Lawler's own words. On September 30 he had written McClelland:

An aggravated case of murder occurred here this morning at 2 O'clk Am. Robert Dickman [Dickerman] of Company (G) shot Wm. Evans and killed him instantly. . . . I thought at first to turn the culprit over to the Civil authorities, but on reflection, I recollect of a similar case that occurred in Texas, some years since, and if I recollect rightly the murderer was tried by a Court Martial. . . . Perhaps you have some knowledge of the case. I await your orders in this case.²⁷

In response to a request from McClelland for further information, Lawler on November 2 quoted the above communication and added:

In answer to this note, I received a communication from you of the same date, which, after stating what you deemed to be the rule of law in such cases, you add:—

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

"The case, therefore, goes properly, to the civil authorities of Pulaski County."

In compliance with this suggestion, I immediately offered to deliver the prisoner to the civil authorities of Pulaski county, for trial, but they refused to receive him, stating that a court of competent jurisdiction to try him, would not sit in that county for some months—by which time, the witnesses to the homicide, being soldiers, would probably be beyond the reach of process; and that, to receive him, under the circumstances, would be, in effect, to release him.

The apprehensions awakened by this answer, caused great excitement and commotion in the regiment, not only lest the prisoner might escape, but that another of its members might become the victim of his fury. This apprehension was justified by the fact, that he had, a short time before, threatened to kill others of his comrades; and had charged his gun, as he alledged, for the purpose of shooting Joseph Campbell ... and was only prevented from doing so by being knocked down.

In deference to the just indignation of the regiment, and for the purpose of preserving proper order and discipline in it, I delivered the prisoner into the hands of his company, until I should hear of their determination.

On the next day, the captain of his company summoned twelve men, from its number, who, after being empanelled and sworn, as a jury, to try this prisoner, accordingly did so, and found him guilty of murder.

The Captain passed sentence upon him, and the next day he was hung.

The jury who rendered the verdict, was composed of his own neighbors, and therefore may be supposed to have been uninfluenced by improper feelings towards him.

Left, as I had been, from the beginning up to the period of your assuming command of the Post, isolated; and having been unjustly assailed, by the Press, upon various groundless pretexts connected with the discipline of my command, I though[t] proper ... to permit the sentence which had been passed to be carried into effect.

In doing so, I only yielded to what I conceived to be a military necessity, involving the good order, the proper discipline, and the individual safety of my command.

If ... I have committed an error, it was an honest one ... only from an earnest desire to preserve the efficiency of my regiment, that they might, in the most efficient manner, serve their country.²⁸

This was the first of five general charges against Lawler.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

The second, "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman," had seven specifications: (1) He had ordered and compelled "with a drawn sword, to prevent interference," two men of his regiment to engage in a "most brutal and demoralizing" fist fight in the presence of his soldiers; (2) he had caused "Tartar Emetic, Ipecac, or some other noxious drugs, to be put into whisky and sent to the soldiers of his command . . . in the guard house," causing them to become very ill from drinking it; (3) at Mound City he had beaten certain soldiers with his fist; (4) at Cairo he had beaten, knocked down and kicked another private; (5) he had ordered certain officers to patrol the streets of Cairo and "to knock down all who refuse to come peacefully" to their quarters; (6) he had compelled "by threats of personal violence" one of his captains "to beat and knock down" two privates "in the presence of a large number" of his soldiers; (7) he had threatened to knock down the said captain when he remonstrated against executing the order.

The third charge, violation of the 15th Article of War, had two specifications: (1) He had at Mound City caused the name of a lieutenant to be omitted from its proper place on a "muster and pay roll," and "entered at the foot of said roll, as resigned, intending thereby fraudulently to deprive said 1st Lieutenant . . . of his office and his pay"; (2) in June at Bird's Point he had caused the names of several privates to be placed on the muster roll of Company H when he knew they belonged to Company G.

The fourth charge, "conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline," had three specifications: (1) At Commerce, Missouri, on November 4 he had neglected to arrest and prefer charges against one of his captains, who in Lawler's presence had "with threats of violence and with a loaded pistol in his hand" compelled a private "to 'dance,' 'mark time,' and perform other compulsory movements, and threatened to shoot him . . . if he failed to obey"; (2) he had permitted Dicker-

man to be unfairly tried, condemned and executed; (3) on December 1 at Camp Cairo he had caused his nephew Private Patrick Lawler to be commissioned captain of Company D, knowing that he was "notoriously . . . incompetent to perform the duties of said office."

The single specification of the fifth charge, violation of the 208th section of the 24th Article of War, was that in July at Bird's Point he had appointed "Father Louis [A.] Lambert, Chaplain of said 18th Regiment, without the recommendation of a council of administration, or the vote of the Field Officers and Company Commanders of said 18th Regiment . . . and in defiance of a petition signed by a large majority of the Commissioned Officers . . . requesting the appointment of the Reverend Mr. Babbitt as Chaplain."²⁹

To all the charges and specifications Lawler pleaded not guilty. The court exonerated him on the first charge; on specifications 3, 6 and 7 of the second charge; on both specifications of the third charge; on specification 3 of the fourth charge; and on the fifth charge. Since he was declared guilty on the other specifications of the second and fourth charges, however, the general verdict was "guilty" and he was sentenced to dismissal from the service.

General Halleck, in reviewing the case, said:

The evidence shows that irregularities have occurred in mustering, and in the way of drunkenness, punishments, &c.; also, that through probable fear of a mob, certain improprieties were not stopped, and no efforts were made by Col. Lawler, either by calling for aid and support from other stations, or turning out his own command, to put down insubordination.

Col. Lawler was [nevertheless] improperly tried [on the first charge]. . .

The evidence does not show that any "dangerous and severe illness" was caused by prisoners drinking their own whisky. . . There is a want of evidence to prove the facts alleged as to the drawn sword or the knocking down. . .

The accused is found "Guilty" of the 2d and 3d specifications of the 4th charge *entire*, when there is a want of evidence . . . to warrant such finding. . .

²⁹ General Orders No. 12, Dept. of the Missouri, Jan. 8, 1862, *ibid*.

The accusations alleged run from June to November, 1861. Upon this point the Commanding General is obliged to remark: that it is highly improper to hold charges in reserve, in order that they may accumulate, so as ... collectively ... to justify a prosecution. ... The Judge Advocate ... [proceeded in a manner] not in accordance with the customs of service or military usage. The record does not account for the absence of seven members [of the court] during the course of the trial.

Taking into consideration the above circumstances and facts, the sentence awarded by the Court is disapproved. Col. M. K. Lawler ... will be released from arrest and resume his sword.³⁰

The Eighteenth Illinois participated in the sortie into Kentucky, January 9-20, 1862. It was in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, February 2-15, however, that the regiment received its real baptism of fire. It led in the advance upon the Confederate fortifications at Donelson, and the men suffered in the inclement weather. Captain Samuel B. Marks' report states:

On the night of the 12th instant [February], ... we camped upon a hill in front of the enemy's batteries, about 300 yards distant. After forming a line of battle, we sent out a portion of two companies to deploy as skirmishers to the front, who approached the enemy's pickets and fired upon them, killing 2 men and wounding 4 and driving them in disorder. The regiment was then ordered back ... a short distance to a point less exposed. ... On the ... 13th ... frequent skirmishes took place between our scouts and those of the enemy. In the afternoon ... we advanced over the hill, and within 200 yards of the enemy's breastworks Here we were fired upon, killing 1 of our men and wounding 4. We then (with a view of storming their batteries) advanced to within about 50 yards of their intrenchments. ... A movement against them at that time being deemed impracticable ... we retired to our position of the morning. ...

On the morning of the 15th we were aroused about daybreak by a rapid and heavy firing upon our right and front. The regiment was speedily formed into line, and in a very few minutes we received the fire of the enemy, and the engagement became general along the right wing. ... Our men stood their ground well, conducting themselves with remarkable cool-

³⁰ *Ibid.* On Jan. 5, 1862, Captain Richard R. Hopkins, Co. H, 18th Ill., complained that a soldier whom he had confined for abusing a sick man cursed Hopkins and accused him of swearing to a lie in Lawler's court martial (McClernand Papers).

ness and bravery. Early in the engagement Colonel Lawler was severely wounded in the arm, but did not retire from the field. ...

The enemy poured in in such overwhelming numbers and with such rapidity, that ... it was deemed prudent to retire. ... We were furnished with ammunition, and ... were posted on a hill in front of one of the enemy's redoubts, and spent another sleepless night upon our arms. In the morning we were preparing to storm their batteries, when they exhibited the white flag. ...

Colonel Lawler, although severely wounded, remained on the ground until the regiment had all retired, exhibiting throughout the trying scene a perfect coolness and self-possession.³¹

Six captains, one lieutenant and 154 non-commissioned officers and privates were also wounded, and two officers and 49 non-coms and privates killed. The 213 casualties equaled one-third the roll of the regiment. McClelland's report mentioned the "movement . . . boldly and rapidly executed by Colonel Lawler," and the bravery of the Eighteenth on the final day of the battle. Lawler himself said:

The conduct of my Regt on that bloody field (being their first combat) would immortalize any Regiment, and I cannot help expressing it, that I was proud I was their commander. In every march and battle they held the post of honor.³²

After a leave of absence to permit his wound to heal, Lawler reported for duty on April 18 at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, and on May 7 was placed in command of the Second Brigade of the Second Reserve Division of the Army of the Tennessee. After the capture of Corinth, Mississippi, he took command of the First Brigade during the illness of General John A. Logan. During this time Governor Yates reviewed the brigade and praised it "for their patriotic devotion, the luster they had shed upon Illinois, and their soldierly appearance and expertness."³³

On Logan's recovery, Lawler as senior colonel took command of the Third Brigade. As brigade commander, though

³¹ *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, 190-91.

³² *Ibid.*, 171; Lawler Papers.

³³ *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. 1, 753-59.

still with the rank of colonel, he participated in numerous engagements in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi.

He was stationed at Jackson, Tennessee in June, 1862 and from October, 1862 to March, 1863 had charge of the post and of operations against the Confederates from that position. Grant reported: "To save the bridge 6 miles south of Bolivar I ordered two regiments from here, under Col. Lawler. It had the desired effect." General James B. McPherson reported:

Colonels M. K. Lawler and J. D. Stevenson [7th Missouri], each commanding a brigade, behaved with the utmost coolness, gallantry, and discretion—prompt in handling their troops and never shirking the post of danger. I most cordially commend them to your consideration.³⁴

From December 20, 1862 to January 3, 1863 Lawler had a series of skirmishes with Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry, driving them across the Tennessee River and preventing their return. On the last day of March, 1863 Lawler "was ordered to Bolivar [Tennessee] with the 18th. Ill. 'then mounted' and the 1st. West Tenn. Cavalry, to drive out or Capture the rebels." This he did, "capturing forty rebels and dispersing the remainder of them."³⁵

Such meritorious service was rewarded by a commission as brigadier general of volunteers, of which he was officially notified at Corinth on April 25, 1863. He was ordered to report to Major General McClelland for duty. At Port Gibson, Mississippi on May 2 Lawler assumed command of the Second Brigade of the Fourteenth Division of the Thirteenth Army Corps, comprising the 11th Wisconsin, the 21st, 22d and 23d Iowa, and the First Iowa Battery (or Peoria Battery)—in all about 2,300 men. The Division was commanded by Brigadier General Eugene A. Carr, a former colonel of the Third Illinois Cavalry.³⁶

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, pt. 1, 49-51, 157-59.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 300, 369-70, 552.

³⁶ Lawler Papers. Governor Yates wrote Lincoln recommending Lawler's promotion on July 10, 1862. McClelland, Oglesby, Grant and John A. Logan endorsed the Governor's recommendation August 17-20. Mason Brayman, formerly McClelland's

Lawler was ordered to remain behind most of the army during the last campaign against Vicksburg. His brigade was to garrison Port Gibson and cover Bayou Pierre while the rebel wounded were paroled, the Union wounded moved to hospitals, and supplies brought up from Bruinsburg. On May 5 he marched to Willow Springs; on May 7 to Big Sand Creek, four miles beyond Rocky Springs on the Jackson road; on May 10 to Five Mile Creek on the Cayuga road; and on May 12 to Fourteen Mile Creek on the Auburn and Edwards Station road. On May 13 he was within four miles of Raymond, and the next day seven miles from Jackson. Since the capital was occupied by Union troops that evening, the next day Lawler countermarched through Raymond toward Edwards Station, stopping for the night at Hawkins Plantation three miles beyond the town.³⁷

At Champion Hills, southeast of Vicksburg and east of the Big Black River, the Confederates occupied a strong position on a narrow ridge covered with a heavy forest. Generals Alvin P. Hovey and John A. Logan began the Union attack about 11 A.M. on May 16. McClernand's corps, including Lawler's brigade, was some distance away and did not arrive

nand's adjutant and then colonel of the 29th Illinois, added his recommendation on August 22. State Auditor Jesse K. Dubois and Secretary of State Ozias M. Hatch, personal friends of Lincoln, added their recommendations in October. On copies of all these recommendations Lincoln endorsed on December 13: "Col. Lawler. Submitted to Gen. Halleck. A. Lincoln." Original, Ill. State Hist. Lib. Halleck was then general-in-chief at Washington. His favorable reaction may be inferred from the inclusion of Lawler's name in a list of 63 recommendations for brigadier generalships sent by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to Lincoln on Jan. 19, 1863 and transmitted by Lincoln to the Senate the same day. The list as a whole was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia on Jan. 22, and returned to the President on Feb. 12 by Senate approval of a committee recommendation to that effect. Stanton submitted to Lincoln on March 2 another list, on which Lawler's was one of the 74 names. Lincoln transmitted this list to the Senate two days later, on the first day of the short special session of the Senate of the 38th Congress called to act on nominations. This list was referred to committee on March 6 and reported favorably and confirmed by the Senate on March 9, with rank to date from Nov. 29, 1862. *Senate Executive Journal*, XIII: 92-94, 97, 128, 213-15, 221, 261-62. Lawler's commissions as brigadier general (signed by Lincoln) and as brevet major general (signed by Johnson) burned several years ago in R. E. Lawler's home near Equality. Both names for the battery occur in Lawler's official report (*O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 2, 133-42); there is nothing to indicate that there was ever more than one battery in this brigade.

³⁷ Lawler Papers.

until about 2:30 P.M. Lawler's brigade, previously held in reserve, "here cast the trembling balance in our favor," said McClelland. "Himself narrowly escaping the effects of a shell, his men . . . dashed forward, shooting down the enemy's artillery horses, driving away his gunners, and capturing two pieces of cannon." The Confederates fled toward Vicksburg, hotly pursued by Carr's division with Lawler's brigade in the lead.³⁸

Lawler's brigade also led the advance against the Confederate entrenchments along the Big Black the next day, taking position "on the right resting its flank near Big Black," to capture the position and if possible prevent the enemy from retreating into Vicksburg. While Grant was considering a message from Halleck to leave the vicinity of Vicksburg and co-operate with General Nathaniel P. Banks in an assault on Port Hudson farther south, he "heard great cheering to the right of our line and, looking in that direction, saw Lawler in his shirt sleeves leading a charge upon the enemy." Halleck's advice was given no further consideration.³⁹ Grant's report of this battle stated:

Lawler discovered that by moving a portion of his brigade under cover of the river bank he could get a position from which that place [the Confederate rifle-pits] could be successfully assaulted, and ordered a charge accordingly. Notwithstanding the level ground over which a portion of his troops had to pass without cover, and the great obstacle of the ditch in front of the enemy's works, the charge was gallantly and successfully made, and in a few minutes the entire garrison, with seventeen pieces of artillery, were the trophies of this brilliant and daring movement.⁴⁰

McClelland reported:

General Lawler, . . . availing himself of information obtained by Col. [John J.] Mudd, chief of Cavalry, of the practicability of making a near approach under partial cover on the extreme right, dashed forward under a

³⁸ McClelland's report (Springfield, 1863), *ibid.*; O.R., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 146-52.

³⁹ McClelland's report, Lawler Papers; *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), I: 524-27.

⁴⁰ O.R., Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 54; Lawler Papers.

heavy fire across a narrow field, and, with fixed bayonets, carried the enemy's works, capturing many prisoners and routing him. This feat was eminently brilliant, and reflects the highest credit upon the gallant officers and men of Gen. Lawler's and [Peter J.] Osterhaus' commands, who achieved it.⁴¹

Sylvanus Cadwallader, *Chicago Times* correspondent with the army, witnessed the charge:

Lawler ... made one of his characteristic dashes across a small cotton field, plunged into the bayou in line of battle where the mud ranged in depth from the men's knees to their armpits, scrambled through and out of it, stormed the rebel rifle pits and swarmed over their cotton-bale breastworks with irresistible impetuosity. Lawler's men suffered severely from the musketry fire on their advance, and from the rebel batteries on the opposite shore of the river covering the position, but nothing could check them for an instant. It was at the same time the most perilous and ludicrous charge that I witnessed during the war.⁴²

Lawler's own report stated:

Late in the forenoon ... Colonel [William H.] Kinsman, Twenty-Third Iowa Volunteers, proposed to charge at once the enemy's works and drive them out at the point of the bayonet, and asked my consent to the same.

Foreseeing that a charge by a single regiment, unsustained by the whole line, against fortifications as formidable as those in his front, could hardly be successful, at the same time I gave my consent to his daring proposition I determined that there should be a simultaneous movement on the part of my whole command. ...

Orders were further given that the men should reserve their fire until upon the rebel works. ...

Through a terrible fire of musketry from the enemy in front and a galling fire from his sharpshooters on the right, these brave men dashed bravely on. ...

[They] pressed onward, nearer and nearer, to the rebel works, over the open field, 500 yards, under a wasting fire, and up to the edge of the bayou. Halting here only long enough to pour into the enemy a deadly volley, they dashed forward through the bayou, filled with water, fallen timber, and brush, on to the rebel works with the shout of victory, driving the enemy with confusion from their breastworks and rifle-pits, and entering in triumph the

⁴¹ McClernand's report, Lawler Papers.

⁴² Cadwallader diary, MS, Ill. State Hist. Lib., printed in Benjamin P. Thomas, ed., *Three Years with Grant* (New York, 1955), 83.

rebel stronghold. . . . Those of the rebels who were not captured hastened to make good their retreat over the bridge. As the result of this successful charge, we may with justice claim that it gave our army entire possession of the enemy's extended lines of works, and with them their field artillery.⁴³

Four stands of colors, 1,460 muskets and 1,120 prisoners were taken by Lawler's brigade; but it lost 14 killed, including Colonel Kinsman, and 185 wounded in this charge. Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana, who was present, said later in the *Chicago Republican*: "It was one of the most splendid exploits of the war, and it was astonishing in going over the field to see how few of Lawler's brave fellows had fallen in so audacious an onset."⁴⁴

Edward Pollard, Confederate historian, said of this charge: "The [Confederate] position was one of extraordinary strength. . . . It would be well if this page could be omitted from our military records and its dishonor spared."⁴⁵

Lawler wrote his wife the day after the battle:

Grant, McClelland, McPherson, Logan, and others came to congratulate me on the brilliant charge of my Brigade. The storming of this work and the Prisoners and trophies is one of *the most brilliant of this war*. Hold up your head and let your eyes brighten and thank God with all your heart that I passed through the two days battle unscathed; and remember my dear that your prayers and spirit hovered near me, and that I wished my part of the fight to take place on your birth[day, May 16] and said so to my brigade but the real celebration did not come off till yesterday [May 17] when we honored you by bidding all our thunders salute you.⁴⁶

After the battle Dana found Lawler

sitting on a log in the edge of the woods, in considerable dishabille, brewing a pot of coffee, while his stout steed, unharmed by all the storm of bullets,

⁴³ *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 2, 133-42; two leather-bound MS volumes of Lawler's war experiences and another of similar content, apparently prepared for the War Department, Lawler Papers.

⁴⁴ Lawler Papers; *The United States Biographical Dictionary, Illinois Volume* (Chicago, Cincinnati and New York, 1876), 525.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Pollard, an ardent secessionist, edited the *Richmond Examiner* during the war and criticized President Davis unmercifully.

⁴⁶ This letter was begun on the same sheet as a letter to his son John dated May 11 in which he tells how he "caught a louse on my neck with reddish cast not of my own raising so I discarded the gentleman and made him pay the penalty of his temerity." Lawler Papers (No. 104).

stood by unhitched, and a staff officer was seeking dry branches for fuel. ... Presently General Grant came up with his staff, and thanked the brigadier with unusual warmth and abundance of phrase, as his deed deserved.⁴⁷

The campaign now settled down to the siege of Vicksburg; but Grant, still unwilling to admit that the city was impregnable to assault, ordered a general attack by all the Union forces on May 22. McClernand's report stated:

Men never fought more gallantly; nay, more desperately. For more than eight long hours they maintained their ground with death-like tenacity. Neither the blazing sun, nor the deadly fire of the enemy shook them. Their constancy and valor filled me with admiration. The spectacle was one never to be forgotten.⁴⁸

The brigade lost 575 killed, wounded and missing on this day. Though the assault was repulsed and the Union forces driven back to their entrenchments, some of Lawler's men penetrated farther into the defenses than any others. Within fifteen minutes after the attack began, reported McClernand:

Lawler's and Landrum's brigades had carried the ditch, slope and bastion of a fort. Some of the men, emulous of each other, rushed into the fort, finding a piece of artillery, and in time to see the men who had been serving and supporting it, escape. ... All of this daring and heroic party were shot down except one, who, recovering from the stunning effect of a shot, seized his musket, and captured and brought away thirteen rebels, who had returned and fired their guns. The captor was Sergeant Joseph [E.] Griffith, of the 22d Iowa, who, I am happy to say, has since been promoted. The colors of the 13th Illinois were planted upon the counterscarp of the ditch, while those of the 48th Ohio and 77th Illinois waved over the bastion.⁴⁹

Lawler took a personal interest in young Sergeant Griffith (promoted to second lieutenant June 4 and first lieutenant August 31) and procured him an appointment to West Point, from which place he wrote on May 27, 1864 that "Ever since the 22d. day of last May I have considered myself under obli-

⁴⁷ *Harrisburg* (Ill.) *Chronicle*, Sept. 6, 1865, quoting *Chicago Republican*, of which Dana was editor after the war.

⁴⁸ McClernand's report, Lawler Papers (p. 12).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

gations to you and have looked up to you as a father." Two letters from Griffith in 1869 continue to call Lawler his "military father" and to remind the general of shared experiences in the Vicksburg campaign:

A flea which I found on me whilst on a Miss river boat the other day, reminded me of you as you sat tailor fashion in that Hd.qr tent in the ravine behind Vicksburg and I laughed. . . . I saw . . . your good natured smile turning into sunshine, the dark and frowning clouds of war with its immediate perils and irksome surroundings. I saw you when first you took command of the "iron clads"— . . . your fat sides, merry with laughter.

I see you again, a few minutes before the "charge of the 1100" at the Big Black river bridge—and away we left you into the bayou, over the parapet and into the "rebs." I see you again on the 22d May as you anxiously awaited my coming up the hill with those jolly looking rebs. . . . Mrs G & myself [consider ourselves] your adopted daughter & Son.⁵⁰

A personal description of Lawler, fitting well with Griffith's allusions, occurs in the *New York Tribune* of August 5, 1863:

Among the celebrated and prominent officers of General Grant's army is Brig.-Gen. Lawler, or, as he is known among the troops, "the checkshirt general," and by others as the "Garibaldi of the West." Gen. Lawler is from Illinois, where he owns an extensive farm, from which, by his industry as an agriculturist, he has attained a position of opulence. When the Rebellion broke out, he was at work in the field, and, musing on the matter while following his plow, he determined to give his personal services to the Government. He raised a regiment of troops, and subsequently was elevated for meritorious services to his present rank. Gen. Lawler is a fair representative of the Western farmer. He is nearly six feet in height, built in proportion, weighs over 200 pounds, and is about 50 years of age. In his military position he eschews all ostentation. In the field and camp he wears an ordinary suit of blue flannel, his trowsers tucked into his boots, and a white felt hat. He wears no insignia indicative of rank except a gilt cord on his hat. As a soldier, he stands well, is a happy conversationalist and humorist, and as a disciplinarian is strict. He has served in all the battles on the Mississippi.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Griffith to Lawler, West Point, May 27, 1864, Keokuk, July 21, Aug. 10, 1869, Lawler Papers. Griffith became a lieutenant in the U. S. Engineer Corps upon graduation from West Point.

⁵¹ A similar clipping headed "Vicksburg correspondence New York Herald" is in the Lawler Papers. This may also be from Cadwallader's pen. Lawler's monument at Vicksburg, furnished by the War Department, is larger than those of most brigadiers.

Cadwallader's personal description of Lawler is similar:

General Lawler was a large and excessively fat man—a fine type of the generous, rollicking, fighting Irishman. His cherished maxim was the Tipperary one: "If you see a head, hit it." He saw Green's brigade in a false and vulnerable position, and could not forbear impulsive action. He was precisely the kind of officer to make an assault, and ask permission to do so afterwards. I cannot say positively that he acted in this case [the charge at the Big Black] without orders, but I always supposed that he did.⁵²

Other personal sidelights are given by his friend and neighbor Bluford Wilson:

Lawler was a Catholic Irishman . . . and a Democrat to the backbone. . . . It was of this quaint, but fine old soldier that General Grant . . . said . . . : "When it comes to just plain hard fighting, I would rather trust Old Mike Lawler than any of them."

Lawler, although a very heavy man, almost Falstaffian in girth, was a strictly temperate man, a devout Catholic, and as imperturbable under fire as any Paladin. . . .

To a profane member of his staff, during one of the fighting days at Vicksburg, who was loudly violating the Third Commandment, the general said: "I am astonished to hear you praying at this time. I always say my prayers before going into battle." . . .

To his adjutant general, then a youth, undergoing his baptism of fire, in his first battle at Champion Hills, and who knew no better than to dodge the singing minnies, he said, quietly but firmly: "You dam little fool! Don't dodge! Don't you know when you hear the bullets they have already passed." It cured the captain of the habit.⁵³

As is well known, McClernand's ill-timed order of congratulation to his troops after the assault of May 22 led to his removal by Grant. Lawler showed that his personal friendship for McClernand was less strong than his regard for military discipline. Dana wrote Secretary Stanton on June 20:

McClernand left yesterday on his way to Memphis. It appears that ten days ago he invited General M. K. Lawler to attend a meeting of officers from his corps, at which resolutions commendatory of himself (McClernand)

⁵² Cadwallader diary, printed in *Three Years with Grant*, 83-84.

⁵³ Bluford Wilson, "Southern Illinois in the Civil War," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1911*, pp. 101-2. Wilson's speech was given at a special meeting of the Society commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter.

were to be passed. Lawler refused, on the ground that it would be a mutinous proceeding, and does not know whether such a meeting was held.⁵⁴

On July 5, the day after the surrender of Vicksburg, Lawler started for Jackson, Mississippi, and took part in the siege of that city, entering it on July 17. General William P. Benton, commanding the expedition, reported: "Brigadier General Lawler, commanding the Second Brigade, with a clear head and comprehensive mind, combined with the tact of an experienced officer, and a stranger to personal fear, was always at the post of duty." On July 18 Lawler relinquished command of the brigade to Colonel William M. Stone of the 22d Iowa and enjoyed a leave of absence until August 15.⁵⁵

About this time a report from his days as colonel arose to plague the General. Daniel H. Brush, Lawler's successor in command of the 18th Illinois, wrote the Paymaster General on August 3 concerning Lawler's use of a soldier, John Moyers, as an orderly.⁵⁶ The matter was apparently dropped after Lawler's explanation of September 26 was received.⁵⁷

Returning to active duty, Lawler was temporarily assigned to command the Fourth Division of the Thirteenth Army Corps and went with it to New Orleans. Relieved of this command on September 21, he was assigned two days later to command the Third Brigade of the First Division of the Thirteenth Army Corps at Brashear City, and on October 23 became commander of the entire First Division with headquarters at Vermilion Bayou, Louisiana. On October 31 his division was stationed at New Iberia. After campaigning "up the Teche country . . . as far as Opelousas, returned to Berwick Bay, and the Div. was sent by detachments to Texas. Landed at Decrows Point November 28th." He was relieved December 14 and by special order of December 21 received an extended furlough on a surgeon's certificate.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 105.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 609, 615.

⁵⁶ Lawler Papers.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Reporting for duty on February 15, 1864, he reassumed command of the Third Brigade, First Division, Thirteenth Army Corps at Indianola, Texas on February 28, 1864. General Napoleon J. T. Dana, wishing to get away from the post, bombarded the War Department with requests for a transfer, referring to Lawler as "a competent general officer" on February 28 and "also a very competent officer" on March 5. After successfully campaigning below Galveston, Lawler left Matagorda Bay with his division on April 18, arriving at New Orleans on the twenty-first. He left for Alexandria, Louisiana on the twenty-third and arrived there on the twenty-sixth.⁵⁹

On May 1, due to the illness of General McClernand, Lawler became Chief of Staff of the detachment of the Thirteenth Army Corps stationed near Alexandria, including the Third and Fourth Divisions and the Second Brigade of the First Division. On May 9 he became acting field commander. Morganza, in Point Coupée Parish twenty miles northwest of Baton Rouge, was his center of operations. Here Lawler commanded the largest number of troops in his career: 18,691 officers and men as of August 1, including 3,724 Negro troops and 2,948 cavalry. While there were only sporadic conflicts with Confederate forces, he was considerably harassed by guerrillas, as his proclamation issued on August 7 showed.⁶⁰

Assistant Adjutant General Frederic Speed wrote to General Joseph J. Reynolds from Morganza on August 12:

I returned yesterday afternoon from a three days' raid with the cavalry, which I accompanied at the request of General Lawler. . . . The object was to break up the guerrilla bands which infest that section. But few small bands were met. These were better mounted than our men, and in only one instance were able to run them down. . . . I can see no good to come from the raids made through this country, and would respectfully suggest that as much be intimated to General Lawler.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XXXIV, pt. 2, 451, 504.

⁶⁰ Lawler Papers; O.R., Ser. 1, Vol. XLI, pt. 2, 593-94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 663-64.

"General Lawler, commanding the post at Morganza, held an election within his picket lines" presumably at the time of the presidential election in November, 1864. "The election was sacredly confined to the post."⁶²

By an order of November 20 Lawler was relieved at Morganza and ordered to report to General Reynolds at the mouth of the White River for assignment to duty. He turned over the command on November 23 and was put in charge of the Third Division, Nineteenth Army Corps at Memphis. He was engaged from December 20-26 with nine regiments and two batteries in a feint against Corinth and the Memphis & Charleston Railroad so as to prevent the enemy from concentrating against a simultaneous cavalry expedition under General Benjamin H. Grierson. Two days after his return he was in command of the post and defenses of Memphis during the illness of General John C. Veatch. On January 1, 1865 he took his division to New Orleans. On February 3 Lawler, suffering from hemorrhoids, was granted a twenty-day leave of absence. He reported for duty to General Stephen A. Hurlbut at New Orleans on March 7, and on March 23 was assigned to succeed Colonel John G. Fonda in command of the District of East Louisiana, with headquarters at Baton Rouge.⁶³

General Edward R. S. Canby recommended Lawler for a well deserved major generalship. Lincoln approved the promotion but did not live to sign the commission. President Andrew Johnson signed Lawler's commission as brevet major general on April 27, 1865 (to date from March 13, 1865). With hostilities at an end, several other military districts were consolidated with the District of East Louisiana on May 29. Lawler remained in command at Baton Rouge until August 11, 1865 when his predecessor Fonda relieved him.⁶⁴

⁶² F. L. Claiborne to Nathaniel P. Banks, May 22, 1865, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, pt. 2, 537. This letter proceeds to complain about one "Watson, who is not a citizen" of Louisiana, claiming to represent Point Coupée and two other parishes in the Louisiana legislature on account of that election, though he "did not receive the vote of one citizen of either of those parishes."

⁶³ Lawler Papers.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Lawler returned home to be honorably discharged. He had been in the service from May 20, 1861 to August 11, 1865, with six leaves of absence totaling 174 days, the longest—sixty-three days—to allow the wound received at Fort Donelson to heal. In all that time, aside from the court martial and the employment of the orderly, the only complaint about him was that he had passed within the enemy lines one Sunday to hear mass, rendering himself liable to capture.⁶⁵

After the war the General and his son John C. Lawler spent a year in Louisiana and two in Texas, buying and selling horses.⁶⁶ He also "bought at sheriff's sale for \$6,000 the Arlington Plantation near Baton Rouge, formerly valued at \$200,000." The report added that he "is going to settle in Louisiana as a planter"; however, in 1868 he returned to spend the remainder of his life on his farm near Equality.⁶⁷ Like Cincinnati of old, he returned to peaceful agricultural pursuits after successfully defending his country.⁶⁸

He seems, however, unlike many of his fellow-soldiers, to have sought office only once—from his old commander General Grant, then in the White House. Private Secretary Orville E. Babcock wrote on February 10, 1875: "I read it [Lawler's letter] to the President who remarked that he did not see why Genl. Lawler had no right to ask a favor, for if a good soldier had, Genl. L. had." Unfortunately, continued

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ John, born in 1840, was his eldest son. Margaret A., 12 years old in 1850, was probably married by 1860 as she is not listed with Lawler's family in the later census. Sinia, 8 in 1850, may also have married by 1860 or may have died in the meantime. Lawler's children (besides John) listed in 1860 were: Mary, then 16; Hannah Adeline, 13; Judith, 11; William, 3; and R. E. Hall, 1. At that time Lawler's real estate was valued at \$6,000 (ten years earlier it had been \$2,000) and his personal property at \$1,200. U. S. Census, Illinois, 1850, 1860.

⁶⁷ *Harrisburg Chronicle*, Sept. 6, 1865, citing *Chicago Republican*. Business papers concerning this plantation are in the Lawler Papers.

⁶⁸ When Lawler went away to the Civil War, according to a letter of Jan. 26, 1954 from his grandson William T. Lawler of Dow (now of Jerseyville) to the writer, "he moved his family to the home of his father-in-law at the Crenshaw house. He left behind at the Lawler home his son-in-law, Chas. Evans, and daughter. Like all war periods farm hands were scarce. A man, who claimed to be from Kentucky, came to the home and hired to Uncle Charlie as a farm hand. In a short time the home was destroyed by fire, and this strange man disappeared at the same time. So it was always thought that this man was a southern spy sent there purposely to do harm."

Babcock, there seemed no suitable place available at the moment.⁶⁹

Lawler served as United States deputy marshal guarding St. Louis & Southeastern Railway Company property during the 1877 railroad strike, and was thanked by his fellow-Egyptian and fellow-general James H. Wilson, then receiver and general manager of the road.⁷⁰ Other than this, he seems to have merely lived the quiet life of a good citizen until his death on July 26, 1882.⁷¹

Near Equality there is a monument, erected by the State of Illinois and dedicated on September 24, 1913, which is a fitting tribute to the man who gave Gallatin County a place in the American military firmament.



Photo by Foster Studio, Harrisburg, Ill.

MICHAEL KELLY LAWLER

his bas-relief portrait by E. M. Knoblauch is on the memorial erected at Equality in 1913.

⁶⁹ Lawler Papers. See also Oglesby to Lawler, May 6, 1875, Jan. 27, 1879, Bluford Wilson to Lawler, Feb. 13, 1875, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ The G.A.R. post organized in Gallatin County on Oct. 12, 1883, the year after Lawler's death, was named the M. K. Lawler Post No. 337.

MADISON AND THE EMPIRE OF FREE MEN

BY IRVING BRANT

DURING THE first seventy years of our national history, naming counties after Presidents was a good American pastime, about as common as fiddling at a wedding. There are twenty Madison counties scattered from New York to Idaho, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. In most of them the choice of a name meant only that James Madison was one of a quartet of Presidents—the others being Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—who were thought to rate that treatment when the lines of the governmental checkerboard were being drawn. However, there was nothing so routine as this in the relationship of Madison County, Illinois, to the fourth President of the United States. Madison occupied the White House when the first government of Illinois Territory was being organized in 1809, and appointed all of its early officers; and it was natural that when new counties were being established in the young territory, one of them should have been named for the President then in office. But such obvious facts con-

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ceal, rather than illumine, the real connection between Madison and Madison County, Illinois.

Let us consider what sort of man it was for whom this county was named. James Madison is generally recognized as the foremost of American political philosophers, the leading architect of the Constitution and the draftsman of its Bill of Rights. All his work in this field was performed in the first seventeen years of his adult life. Thereafter he served seven years in Congress, eight years as Secretary of State and eight years as President—twenty-three years of public life which most historians have dealt with by progressing from silence to moderate or severe disparagement.

The verdict upon him as President could easily be represented by the following syllogism: A great political philosopher cannot be a great President; Madison was a great political philosopher; therefore he was not a great President. As tangible evidence to support that conclusion they say: Madison was a timid pacifist who was pushed into the War of 1812, against his will, by the congressional War Hawks. But that is not evidence: it is accusation. Is the accusation true? On November 2, 1810, a year and a half before the outbreak of the war and five weeks before Congress was to convene, Madison issued a proclamation cutting off commercial relations with England, and on that same day directed the Secretary of State to tell French Minister Turreau "that the measures he [Madison] will take in case England continues to interfere with our communications with Europe will necessarily lead to war."¹ This evidence contradicts the chief count in the indictment. The same is true right down the line. But when was a syllogism ever overthrown by facts?

Let us now glance at some intriguing facts connected with the appointment by Madison of the first officers of Illinois Territory. In general, they were chosen on the recommenda-

¹ Paris, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, v. 63, f. 256. Photostats in Library of Congress.

tions of a Kentucky "admiration society" consisting of Senators John Pope and Buckner Thruston, Representative Benjamin Howard and ex-Kentuckian Jesse B. Thomas, delegate to Congress from Indiana Territory and later to become senator from Illinois. Kentucky was the only state that touched the new territory. Illinois had no federal officeholders of its own to give "disinterested non-political" advice to the President, so the Kentuckians took this way of manifesting a benevolent interest in their neighbors' welfare. Congressman Matthew Lyon explained apologetically to a disappointed aspirant: "I was opposed to the election of Mr. Madison, this accounts for my not mentioning your name for governor."²

Ninian Edwards, for whom Edwardsville the Madison County seat was named, is commonly regarded as the first governor of Illinois Territory. Actually he was the second. John Boyle of Kentucky was appointed to that post two days after Madison became President. He performed only one official act as governor—he drew three weeks' pay. He never left Kentucky, but resigned to become a judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals. The duties of his Illinois office were carried on by Territorial Secretary Nathaniel Pope, a brother of Kentucky's Senator Pope. In his letter of resignation Boyle wrote Madison: "Permit me now, sir, to recommend Ninian Edwards as a proper person to fill the appointment of governor."³ Since Edwards was then chief justice of the same court that Boyle was entering, this was in effect a plan to exchange jobs.

Edwards was also endorsed for the Illinois governorship

² Richard M. Johnson to Secretary of State James Madison, Feb. 10, 1809; David Holmes to Madison, Feb. 10; Buckner Thruston, John Pope and Benjamin Howard to Madison, Feb. 11; Jesse B. Thomas to Madison, Feb. 11; John Pope to Madison, Feb. 11; Matthew Lyon to John Edgar, March 11. *Territorial Papers of the United States* (hereinafter cited as *TP*), compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter, XVI: 8-12, 17.

³ Johnson to Madison, Feb. 10, 1809; Thruston, Pope and Howard to Madison, Feb. 11; Thomas to Madison, Feb. 11; Governor John Boyle to Sec. of State Robert Smith, April 3; Boyle to President Madison, April 6. *Ibid.*, XVI: 8-12, 18, 19. See also *ibid.*, p. 19, n. 39, in which Carter cites payment of salary to Boyle for the period March 7-31, 1809, as evidence that he was regarded as governor prior to his resignation.

by his and Madison's close friend, William Wirt of Virginia, and by his own Kentucky relative, the ubiquitous Senator Pope. The latter, however, said he believed that Edwards would prefer the governorship of Mississippi Territory.⁴ Imagine the effect on American history if that suggestion had been acted on! In that case Ninian Wirt Edwards, who was four days old when Pope wrote his letter, might still have married Elizabeth Todd; but it would have been remarkable indeed if Abraham Lincoln ever set eyes on Mary Todd. Without her, some students of history believe, Lincoln would not have become President. Without his leadership, could the Union have survived? In this case, certainly, what was good for Illinois Territory was good for the country.

Governor Edwards furnished the link in the special relationship to which I referred between President Madison and Madison County, Illinois. That relationship was a thing of the spirit, a part of the American people's struggle for equal political rights, with Madison letting them know what rights they were entitled to demand.

What happened in Illinois Territory in the early nineteenth century is not part of the dead and buried past, to be exhumed for antiquarian display. The struggle that went on there in 1812 goes on today in the minds of men and women in every state, city and hamlet of the American Union. In many states it is the theme of open controversy, and it is rising in acuteness in nearly every other part of the world. In unveiling a plaque to James Madison 143 years after his name was given to Madison County, we span the years with the principles he lived by, and make them a visible, vibrant part of the present and the future.

Illinois Territory was formed by splitting Indiana Territory in two along the Wabash River, with the line of division extending straight north from Post Vincennes to Canada. This

⁴ John Pope to Madison, April 19, 1809; William Wirt to Madison, April 26. *Ibid.*, XVI: 23, 29.

vast area, including the present Illinois, most of Wisconsin and much of Upper Michigan and Minnesota, was divided at first into only two counties. In September, 1812, the territory was redivided into five counties, one of them Madison—not solely Madison County as we know it today, but reaching from the Mississippi River to Indiana and up to Canada. Most of this huge county was, in the language of the day, a loathsome wilderness, with the warriors of Tecumseh making it more so.⁵

This redivision into five counties was not a simple reflection of the growth of population. It was a political maneuver in a struggle for power between two groups in the community—between the haves and the have-nots—between those who believed in the republican form of government as it was defined by James Madison and those who sought to concentrate political control in a handful of privileged monopolists.

The act creating Illinois Territory, passed in the closing days of the Jefferson administration, gave it a government similar to that provided by earlier laws for other territories. This meant, at the outset, government by presidential appointees, without a legislature. However, the Illinois act required the governor to call elections for a general assembly whenever he was given satisfactory evidence that this was the wish of a majority of freeholders—a freeholder being defined as the owner of fifty acres of land.⁶

In the spring of 1812 freeholders began petitioning Governor Edwards to poll the qualified voters on the establishment of a legislature, and if a majority approved, to order the election of its members. On the surface this was a fair and natural move toward democratic self-government. At bottom it was the opposite. Under a 1789 law applying to Illinois Ter-

⁵ Gov. Ninian Edwards, proclamation, Sept. 14, 1812. *Ibid.*, XVII: 643. Madison County, under its 1812 boundaries, included more than half of the present state of Illinois, almost all of Wisconsin, part of Upper Michigan, and Minnesota east of the Mississippi. Secretary of State, Ill., *Counties of Illinois: Their Origin and Evolution*, 24ff. (maps).

⁶ "An Act for dividing the Indiana Territory into two separate governments," approved Feb. 3, 1809. *Annals of Congress*, XIX: 1808.

ritory the right to vote was limited to adult males with a fifty-acre freehold. Officeholders had to own two hundred acres. With the federal government selling raw land at \$1.25 per acre, it was expected that practically every settler would quickly become a freeholder and suffrage would be almost universal.

In Illinois Territory, however, settlers streamed in before Congress established new land offices. The only freeholders were two or three hundred farmers and farmer-lawyers—my apologies to the lawyers of Illinois—I should say farmers and prospective candidates for office who had managed to secure government land patents. The great mass of the people were unable to do so. They staked out claims, built homes, planted and harvested crops; but in law they were trespassers on the public land, and they could not vote.

Governor Edwards saw what was behind this petition for a legislature. The census of 1810, he wrote to his friend Congressman Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, gave Illinois Territory a population of 12,282. Among these he was able to count 220 freeholders. This handful of men, said the governor, would have the exclusive right of determining whether a new form of government should be established; they would then have the exclusive right to vote for members of the legislature. The seven-member territorial House of Representatives would nominate a five-man Legislative Council to hold office for five years, and these twelve men would write the laws and in joint session elect a delegate to Congress. Thus Edwards was being forced to call an election which would enable 220 persons—or a bare majority of that number—to fix the measures of the territory for the next five years. These freeholders, he declared, had “an interest distinct from that of the great body of the people.” They were a handful with power to act “in opposition to the interest and wishes of the rest of [the] population.” “Even if the danger to be apprehended should be considered problematical,” continued the governor, “still such are the jealous and independent dis-

positions of freemen that they never will be satisfied to depend for the security of their rights upon the mere courtesy of others."

The situation was made worse by the fact that there were only two counties in Illinois. Edwards was deterred from using his power to create additional counties by the reported fact that in the entire area from the Kaskaskia River to the Ohio—containing one-third or more of the whole population of the territory—there were only three or four freeholders entitled to vote and apparently not a single man with enough land to qualify him for public office. Once the legislature came into existence, it alone would have the power to create new counties, and he was not sure that the two existing counties would relinquish their power. "Under these circumstances," wrote Edwards, "I am sure I do not miscalculate when I suppose your attachment to republican principles will lead you to wish to extend their salutary influence to the people of this territory by endorsing the right of suffrage." Congress could remedy the situation, and if he received word that Congress was likely to act quickly he would hold back the elections until the mass of the people were given the right to vote.⁷

Petitions went to Congress from Illinois Territory. From William Rector and thirteen others⁸ came this sturdy assertion of American rights, including the right of protest:

We cannot but view with the aversion natural to free men, republicans, and lovers of equal rights, every manifestation of a desire among our fellow citizens to limit the exercise of all the rights aforesaid to a few individuals, to the exclusion of the great body of the people.

⁷ Edwards to Johnson, March 14, 1812, *TP*, XVI: 199.

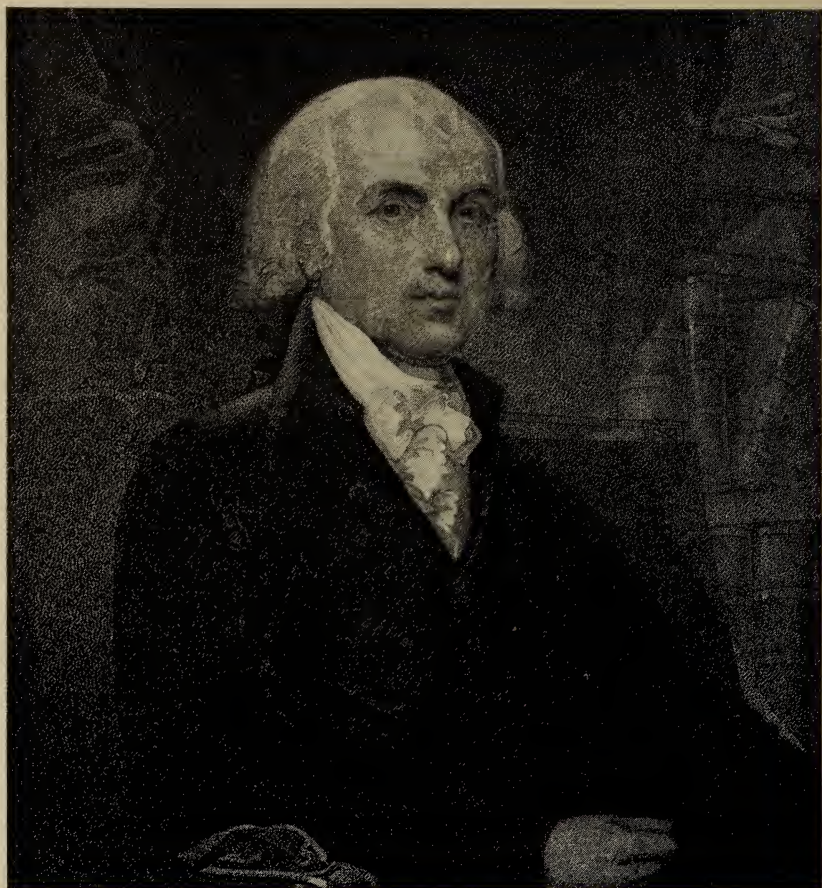
⁸ *Ibid.*, XVI: 203-4. Several of the signers were men of prominence. President Madison in March, 1811, appointed William Rector brigadier general of the Illinois Territory militia and in 1816 made him surveyor of public lands in Illinois and Missouri territories. Elias Rector was made adjutant general of Illinois Territory by Acting Governor Nathaniel Pope on May 3, 1809. Benjamin Stephenson was sheriff of Randolph County by appointment of Gov. Edwards following the removal of Sheriff James Gilbreath on June 28, 1809 because of his political partisanship, and later delegate to Congress. George Fisher became speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois Territory. *Ibid.*, XVI: 113, 120, 157, 159, 373, 622, 47, 58, 58n, 317, 405, XVII: 332.

The last signature on that petition was "Laurance McClosky his mark." That man deserves a plaque all to himself—an American who did not have to know how to write in order to know his rights. One hundred forty-six residents of the region below the Kaskaskia River had still sharper words. "To all our privations hitherto," they wrote, "we have submitted with patience in consequence of their resulting from the peculiar form of government adopted for the territory." They had felicitated themselves with the pleasing anticipation of "an enjoyment of the equal rights of free men." But now they were sorry to see a disposition in some of the present freeholders "to exclude us from an equal participation in [the benefits of government] and to monopolize the whole power in their own hands."⁹

Fittingly enough, the only petition sent to Congress from the other side was anonymous. Since freeholders must pay the added expense of the general assembly, these nameless gentlemen asked, "would it not be unjust that those who do not contribute to it, should have a voice in the representation?" Nearly half the entire population of the territory lived south of the Kaskaskia, and all but four or five were unlawful intruders, guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to punishment. Extension of suffrage to them would not only countenance their infraction of the law but "by giving them equal rights with other citizens render their situation much more eligible." A few might purchase their lands when a land office was opened, the anonymous petitioners conceded, but a look at the history of the West would show "that the first settlers (being intruders generally) are but mere birds of passage." A few ambitious men, the petitioners concluded, were trying to throw the territory into ferment and confusion, if not anarchy.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI: 205-8. Thomas E. Craig, first signer of the memorial, became an Indian fighter in the War of 1812 and (some charged) a general looter of property. Benjamin Talbott, another signer, was manager for the lessee of the salt springs along Saline Creek. *Ibid.*, XVI: 311, 380-87, 225.

¹⁰ "Anonymous protest against transition to second grade government," *ibid.*, XVI: 209-10.



JAMES MADISON

There was the issue, thrown into the laps of Congress and the President—rule by the self-anointed few, or by the great body of the people; a helping hand to those who struggle to make a living, or fostering care for those who sit on top of their pile. Similar questions have come up in our time. Should the government “play footie” with corporation farmers, or help the sharecropper get a stake in the soil he lives by? In the field of civil rights, the issue is typified by the long struggle to abolish the poll tax as a qualification for voting,

and by the disfranchisement of the half-million second-class citizens, including myself, who have the dubious privilege of living in the District of Columbia.

Judging by the speed with which Congress has undertaken to correct these current departures from democratic principle, one might suppose that it would have taken fifty years at least to secure action on the appeal of Governor Edwards and the supporting petitions from the disfranchised people of Illinois Territory. Edwards wrote his letter to Johnson on March 14, 1812. It should have reached Washington about April 7. On April 9 Johnson moved the appointment of a committee to consider extending the right of suffrage in Illinois Territory; and just five weeks later a bill fulfilling that objective was sent to the White House.¹¹ In five weeks Illinois Territory was converted from an incipient aristocracy into a republic with something very close to universal manhood suffrage.¹²

Besides other democratic features, the 1812 law provided that as soon as the governor should divide Illinois Territory into five districts, the voters in each of them should elect one member of the legislative council. Governor Edwards at once delimited the five counties, and Madison County came into existence.¹³

The public records show only that Madison signed the bill passed by Congress. But the writings of James Madison had laid the groundwork twenty-five years earlier for these

¹¹ *Annals of Congress* (House), April 9, 15, 27, 1812; (Senate) May 15, 1812, "An Act to extend the right of suffrage in the Illinois Territory," approved May 20, 1812, *ibid.*, XXIV: 2307.

¹² The act gave the right of suffrage to free white males of 21 or over who paid county or territorial taxes and had resided one year in the territory.

¹³ Randolph and St. Clair counties were reduced in size and Madison, Johnson and Gallatin created. A county was named for President Madison, one for Congressman Johnson and one for Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, because of their effective work in giving the people of Illinois the right to vote. Johnson became Vice-President of the United States in 1837, the only man in history to be elected to that office by a vote of the Senate after a deadlock in the electoral college. His activities in the War of 1812 led to an 1836 campaign cry (here abbreviated), "Rumpsey, Dumpsey, he killed Tecumseh"—a sort of prelude to "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

1812 occurrences. Running through Edwards' letter to Johnson and through the petitions sent to Congress from Illinois Territory were the thoughts and principles voiced by Madison in *The Federalist* No. 39. These men of Illinois used many of the very words in which Madison defined the republican form of government, as established for the nation in the Constitution of 1787 and guaranteed by that Constitution to every individual state of the Union.

What, asked Madison in *The Federalist*, are the distinctive features of the republican form of government? Were an answer to be sought not by recurring to principles, but merely by noticing what countries were called republics, that question could never be answered satisfactorily. Holland, in which no part of the supreme authority was derived from the people, was called a republic. "The same title has been bestowed on Venice, where absolute power over the great body of the people is exercised, in the most absolute manner, by a small body of hereditary nobles."

In contrast with these and other examples, Madison defined the republican form of government within the meaning of the new Constitution:

If we resort for a criterion to the different principles on which different forms of government are established, we may define a republic to be, or at least may bestow that name on, a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their office during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.

It is *essential* to such a government that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable proportion, or a favored class of it; otherwise a handful of tyrannical nobles, exercising their oppressions by a delegation of their powers, might aspire to the rank of republicans, and claim for their government the honorable title of republic.

Again and again in those few paragraphs Madison emphasized that under the republican form of government all power must be lodged in the great body of the people. Ob-

serve how his words were echoed in Illinois. Power in the territory was sought, said Governor Edwards, by a handful of men with "an interest distinct from that of the great body of the people." When he appealed to Johnson on the basis of his "attachment to republican principles" he was not referring to their common allegiance to what was then called the Republican Party, and is now the Democratic Party—the party of Jefferson and Madison. On the contrary, this attachment to republican principles was to help "extend their salutary influence . . . by endorsing the right of suffrage." Men's right to vote, not the way they voted, was in the mind of Governor Edwards as it had been in the mind of Madison. This was also in the minds of the petitioners who protested against the limitation of political rights "to a few individuals, to the exclusion of the great body of the people." They were talking about their rights as free men, as citizens of a republic, as lovers of equal rights, contrasting the republican form of government with the "peculiar form" then existing—quite by accident—in the territory under which a minority was seeking "to monopolize the whole power in their own hands."

In the 143 years since that political crisis gave birth to Madison County, Illinois, the American people have gone far ahead in their concern for the general welfare. Some human rights have been fortified, others jeopardized or weakened. Education has been recognized as a responsibility of government. The Constitution has been enshrined for public worship, without regard to its contents. But do we know as much about the republican form of government as Laurance McClosky did when he made his mark on that petition in 1812? Just a few years ago an editorial in one of the great liberal newspapers of the country challenged Congress's power to abolish the poll tax requirement as a prerequisite to voting under Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution, which guarantees to every state a republican form of government. "A republic," said the editorial, "is a state in which the sovereign

power resides in the electorate without reference to any basis of election."

In other words, nine-tenths of the people may be legally disfranchised, but if the remaining one-tenth have sovereign power to elect officers it is still a republican form of government. James Madison thought otherwise. So did Ninian Edwards; so did Laurance McClosky; so would anyone else who approached the subject with a knowledge of history and with devotion to the principle of human equality under the law.

Madison's connection with Illinois Territory goes much further back, and has a broader basis, than this contest over the electorate. He is universally known as the Father of the Constitution; but few know that he might also be called the Father of the Public Domain. It has passed virtually unnoticed that the public domain and the Constitution form an interwoven chain of cause and effect, each reacting on the other.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Virginia claimed ownership, under her royal charters, of all vacant land running west and northwest from her Atlantic waterfront, as far as the Mississippi and up to Canada. Illinois was at one time regarded as part of Orange County, Virginia, whose modern residue contains Madison's lifetime home. Parts of it were also claimed by Massachusetts and Connecticut, whose westward claims overlapped Virginia's. It was also claimed by the State of New York which bought it from Indians who did not own it. Maryland stoutly averred that she would never ratify the Articles of Confederation unless these vacant western lands, secured from the British crown "by the blood and treasure of all," were to be considered as a common stock of the thirteen states, to be parceled out by Congress into free and independent governments.

This attitude of Maryland—and New Jersey and other states without western claims—was tainted by the ambitions

of big land speculators. But Madison recognized its justice and the impossibility of disregarding it without imperiling the Union. So, as a twenty-nine-year-old member of the Continental Congress, he took the lead in a campaign of political persuasion and pressure directed against the land claims of his own state, and finally brought about a cession by Virginia of her western lands to the nation. The other states also gave up their claims and thus the public domain came into existence.¹⁴

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, eastern commercial interests attempted to deny political equality to the western territories. They were to be kept as colonies or admitted to the Union in an inferior status, or with the westward spread of population the seaboard states might lose their control of the national government. Madison led and won the fight for equality; new states were to be admitted to the Union on a par with the original thirteen.¹⁵

In taking this stand Madison was fortified by the fundamental article of his political faith—that when a republic of free men is federally organized, consisting of a union of states with a supreme federal government properly constructed and subject to checks and balances, every enlargement of the republic makes it more stable and liberty more secure because every enlargement of the country increases the diversity of economic and other interests. Since federal organization leaves local matters to local control, diversity of regional interests reduces the likelihood that any one interest or class will gain complete control of the general government.¹⁶

The members of the Convention of 1787 were men of property, but they were not Tories. Accepting Madison's thesis, they gave the United States a Constitution which, in

¹⁴ Cf. Irving Brant, *James Madison, the Nationalist*, chapters headed "Public Lands—Heritage or Spoils?" and "National Domain"; also Brant, "Madison, the 'North American,' on Federal Power," *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1954.

¹⁵ Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution*, 96, 129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 43-45; *The Federalist*, No. 10.

the federal realm, entrusts the protection of property rights and human rights to the checks and balances of a democratic government. Inherent in Madison's concept of government was a unique incentive to territorial expansion—not a colonial empire held together by tyrannical force or doomed to explosive disruption, but an empire of free men, an expanding self-governing federal republic which would grow at the same time in stability and freedom. This was not the only factor in the westward expansion of the United States; pressure of population, hunger for cheap land and a sense of destiny would have carried American sovereignty from ocean to ocean. But Madison's political prophecy proved true, and territorial expansion was aided to an extraordinary degree by the ease of political assimilation on a democratic basis.

Today much of this is forgotten. Especially in the last three years we have heard men saying that the United States should go back to first principles—that we should give up the federal ownership of the public lands and turn them back to the states from which the federal government hungrily snatched them away—that national forests, national parks, federal grazing districts and watersheds, great river systems, tideland oil and uranium reserves belong traditionally to the states (that is, to lumber companies, big stockmen, private power interests, oil and mining companies) and are held in federal ownership because of a lapse from pure and pristine states rights principles. The time of the lapse is left somewhat vague, but with an impression that Presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt were the principal culprits. That is quite a mental achievement, considering that the question was actually settled—in favor of federal ownership—between 1776 and 1784. But people are forgetful, and some of them began to forget long before they were aided by the modern art of brain-washing.

In 1831 former Governor Edward Coles of Illinois wrote to Madison, whose private secretary he once had been, that

an agitation was going on in some of the newer western states for the transfer of the public lands from the nation to the states, saying that state ownership was the traditional American policy. Coles wanted Madison to give him "an answer at length" to this unfounded claim. Madison replied that age and infirmities—he was then eighty-one—made it impossible to comply. However, he did express his private view:

I have always viewed the claim as so unfair and unjust; so contrary to the certain and notorious intentions of the parties to the case, and so directly in the teeth of the condition on which the lands were ceded to the union, that if a technical title could be made out by the claimants it ought in conscience and in honor to be waived.¹⁷

That certainly leaves no doubt that the Father of the Public Domain looked on it as a federal domain.

However, one fact must be admitted which at the present moment may reduce the value of his testimony. Madison, alack and alas, was a "Creeping Socialist." Worse than that, he made Governor Edwards his accomplice in a nefarious plot against the noble institution of free enterprise. Edwards had not yet moved to Illinois when Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin wrote him that Madison was placing the public salt deposits of the territory under his superintendence. The object of the government, said Gallatin, was to reduce the price of salt. Under the old lease the government had tried to achieve this by charging a very low rental and reserving a right to buy all salt at a fixed low price. Unfortunately, however, this price had been set so extremely low that the lessees felt no stimulus to supply the public demand, while the rental charged by the government was so small that a low production would cover it. The result was that a shortage of salt sent the market price still higher, enabling the buyers of the government salt to resell it at a huge profit. This infuriated the Illinois farmers who wanted cheap salt.

¹⁷ Madison to Coles (draft), June 28, 1831, Madison Papers, Lib. of Cong., LXXXV: 40.

Edwards was directed to pursue a new policy, more practical, but alas, no less cruelly socialistic. He was to raise the rental for the salt springs, thus forcing the lessees into heavy production to pay for their lease. The contract price of salt was to be raised, both to encourage production and to prevent profiteering resales by the purchasers. "My reasons for proposing that it should still be fixed somewhat below the market price," said Gallatin, "are the prevention of monopoly, and the hope of a reduction of that market price, during the continuance of the lease."¹⁸ This would seem to be outdealing the New Deal, offering competition to monopoly, away back in 1809.

It would be possible to go on at length with the sad story of Madison as a "Creeping Socialist." One could tell how, in 1777, he signed a petition for compulsory limitation of tobacco acreage by the State of Virginia—regimenting the farmers, with (horror of horrors) an extra allowance for the poor.¹⁹

Then there was Madison's brazen advocacy of the Welfare State. This began with his assertion, in 1787, that protection of seamen was one of the recognized objects of tonnage taxes. He picked up that idea from England, whose ruler, George III, was already showing other symptoms of insanity. When this subject came before Congress, of which Madison was a member, in 1792, it was proposed to combine the tonnage tax, which fell solely on the ship owners, with a compulsory deduction from seamen's wages—a direct anticipation of the mixed contributory system of the Wagner Social Security Act. When the bill finally passed, early in the presidency of John Adams, the tonnage tax was omitted, throwing

¹⁸ Gallatin to Edwards, April 30, 1809; Edward Tiffin to Madison, May 6, 1813; Tiffin to Edwards, May 10, 1813. *TP*, XVI: 33, 323, 328. A memorial presented in Congress on March 11, 1816 accused the new lessee of failure to produce adequate supplies of salt and of damaging the springs. Congress was asked to pass a law forbidding the lessees of public salt deposits to hold any interest in private deposits. *Ibid.*, XVII: 312-15.

¹⁹ Orange County Petition (106 signers), House of Delegates, 1777, Virginia State Archives.

the entire cost of sick relief, hospital construction and old-age support onto the payroll tax. It relieved the ship owners, except as wages went up to cover the tax, but left the country saddled with a maritime social security system savoring of socialized medicine.

You can imagine what President Thomas Jefferson did to this socialistic scheme when he entered office with the slogan—which, oddly enough, nobody has ever been able to locate in his writings—that the prime business of government is to do nothing about anything. Jefferson took care of it all right. He put a bill through Congress extending the payroll deduction system to the owners and crews of Mississippi River flatboats.²⁰

Then came the crowning touch. In 1813 President Madison approved a bill creating a federal vaccination agent—a public officer whose duty was to procure and distribute the new Jenner smallpox vaccine throughout the United States.²¹ But enough of this. The American Medical Association has plenty to feel bad about without adding Presidents John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to its painfully long list of deviators from the true American spirit.

Let us, if we can, forgive and forget Madison's "creeping socialism." We shall then see more clearly the link between his zeal for liberty and for westward expansion—a merger of turbulent ideas which stems more directly from his participation in the American Revolution than from his staid and proper private life. The United States has been throughout its history a disorderly country. It has been in general a free country. In the popular mind, disorder and freedom are closely linked and both of them are given a western locale. (This doctrine

²⁰ Madison, "Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention," Sept. 15, 1787; *Annals of Congress* (House), Nov. 19, 1792, Jan. 21, 1793, Nov. 22, 29, 1797, Feb. 28, April 10, 1798; Acts of July 16, 1798, March 2, 1799, May 3, 1802, *ibid.*, IX: 3787, 3938, XI: 1372. Madison raised the issue in Congress, less formally, on April 21, 1789, saying in support of his motion for a small special tonnage tax that it was "necessary for the support of lighthouses, hospitals for disabled seamen, and other establishments incident to commerce."

²¹ "An Act to encourage Vaccination," *Annals of Congress*, XXV: 1336.

of innocence by association can be carried too far. In the Wild West movie there is plenty of disorder, but nobody is really free except the bully, until the visiting cowboy plunks him and restores the reign of law.) Nevertheless, even in the older Eastern states some of the most notable examples of disorder, in the early days, had justice and freedom as their motives. And with curious unanimity they originated in the western precincts of the states concerned. Shays' Rebellion, a revolt against forty per cent interest on farm mortgages and imprisonment for debt, arose in the western part of Massachusetts. And similarly, it was the mountaineers of western Pennsylvania who conducted the famous Whisky Rebellion—an uprising against an excise tax and distillery charges which in combination (whisky being the only form of money in the community) were the equivalent of a \$300 tax on a \$600 corn crop.

To shift from spirits to spirituality, it was in the westerly portions of Virginia, which then included West Virginia and Kentucky, that the people rallied behind Madison when he called on them to defeat the 1784 scheme for a state tax to support the teachers of religion. And it was in the new state of Kentucky and in the western counties of Virginia that Jefferson and Madison found the majorities needed for their resolutions against the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798.

Madison's 1784 victory for freedom of religion was won within the orderly processes of legislation. Nevertheless, his famous Memorial and Remonstrance²² against the establishment of religion through taxation employed language which could only be called an incitement to forcible resistance if the tax should be imposed. The preservation of free government, he wrote, forbade any branch of it "to overleap the great barrier which defends the rights of the people. The rulers who are guilty of such an encroachment . . . are tyrants. The people who submit to it . . . are slaves." As if this were

²² *The Writings of James Madison*, edited by Gaillard Hunt, II: 183-91.

not enough, he piled up praise on the free men of America who, not waiting for usurped power to strengthen itself by exercise, fought the War of the Revolution against a three-penny tax on tea. Prudent jealousy for the preservation of liberty, he told his readers, was the first duty of citizens.

As a believer in public order, Madison was no supporter of armed uprisings against a democratic government. But when the Federalists in Congress made the Whisky Rebellion an excuse to assail the political liberties of American citizens, he was in the forefront of their defense.

A resolution was offered in the House of Representatives to censure the new and radical Democratic Societies as alleged abettors of the revolt. Madison offered to join in denouncing those who actually took part in the uprising. But, said he, the Democratic Societies took no part in it. Their members were not in the public service. This was a proposal to censure private citizens for their political opinions. It was a sound principle, said Madison, "that an action innocent in the eyes of the law could not be made the object of censure to a legislative body. . . . Opinions are not the objects of legislation." The holding of opinions, Madison asserted, was one of the reserved rights of the people—that is, one of the unspecified rights reserved by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. The right to express opinions was specifically guaranteed by the First Amendment. Start invading the reserved rights, he warned, and the censure would soon extend to freedom of speech and of the press. "It is in vain to say that this indiscriminate censure is no punishment. . . . Is not this proposition, if voted, a bill of attainder?"

Those words were not uttered by some recklessly courageous congressman during the last ten years of governmental witch-hunts and character assassination. They were not put forth in some judicial argument against the unconstitutional bills of attainder that have been flowing of late in a steady stream from Congress, congressional committees and the ex-

ecutive branch of government. They were spoken in the year 1794, by the author of the American Bill of Rights, and Madison followed them with this fundamental rule: "If we advert to the nature of republican government we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government, and not in the government over the people."

If that is an axiom of American government, it is one which this country now honors only in the breach. How was it in 1794? Madison won his fight against that resolution of censure, but it would be too much to say that he won it by converting the repressive majority which then ruled Congress. Confronted with his statement of principle, a number of Federalists suddenly realized that they were censuring too many people back home who had the right to vote. So they joined with the opponents, first in limiting the censure to four counties in Pennsylvania, and then subjecting this remnant of the motion to overwhelming defeat.²³

A victory so won is not to be belittled. On the contrary, it gives point to one of Madison's cardinal beliefs, not fully put into words by him, but distinctly present in what he said and did: that the best defense of civil liberties lies in general safeguards against autocratic government.

Ardently devoted to freedom of religion, speech and the press, Madison saw little chance of maintaining these liberties intact against laws passed during great gusts of popular passion. Yet, by solemn written affirmation, he remarked in 1788, declarations of liberties would gradually become axioms of free government, with the independent courts, standing up for oppressed or threatened minorities, as their special champions. The majority of the people, as long as they chose their own rulers and kept their senses, could protect themselves against the arbitrary acts of government. Preservation of civil rights would preserve civil liberties, and as long as those lib-

²³ *Annals of Congress* (House), Nov. 23, 1794.

erties were maintained, the people would be in a position to protect their civil rights.

This attitude of mingled skepticism and faith goes far to explain why Madison made no effort to incorporate a Bill of Rights in the original Constitution, yet willingly drafted one—the first ten amendments—in response to popular demand. That his skepticism was justified has been demonstrated in our two great American brainstorms—the one that produced the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, and the one that followed the close of World War II.

In the first of these emotional upheavals, the French Revolution was equated with Jeffersonian democracy in a vain endeavor to perpetuate the rule of the Federalist Party. In the second, the menace of international communism swept us into panic, partly genuine, partly simulated, over the handful of impotent neurotics who make up the American Communist Party—a panic shrewdly utilized for political though not for strictly partisan advantage. Yet we are recovering, as we did before, and we are recovering the more surely because our fundamental right as citizens—the right to choose our governors in fair and free elections—is imbedded in the very fabric of our government.

Civil liberties must be protected in the minds and hearts of men, as well as in constitutional guarantees. But the empire of free men can be sure of freedom only so long as the people control their governors.

When the citizens of Illinois Territory sent their appeal to Congress for genuine self-government, they were acting for future generations of Americans as well as for themselves. When the name of President Madison was given to Madison County, Illinois, that action, as far as this area was concerned, amounted to a second ratification of the Constitution and all the rights and liberties embodied in it. The commemoration today of that 1812 event turns the lamp of liberty toward the future.

Following the delivery of the above speech on September 11, 1955, Burton C. Bernard of Granite City, on behalf of the Madison County Bar Association, presented the plaque in these words:

The Madison County Bar Association is happy and gratified to participate in this commemoration of James Madison on the occasion of the one hundred forty-third anniversary of the creation of Madison County.

James Madison and his contemporaries faced community problems which were just as challenging to them as the problems of our own day are to us. We will profit by emulating the high purpose and dedication to the cause of liberty and good government which marked the lives of our early leaders.

The participation of the community in these ceremonies serves to counteract the influence of cynicism, defeatism and apathy—those deadly enemies of liberty and good government. To recall now the faith of Madison in the ability of the people to govern themselves fairly and effectively; the struggle of Madison to improve the caliber of government; and the unswerving dedication of Madison to the rights of the individual—these recollections will help to sustain our faith in and impel our implementation of the underlying principles of our government. Our meeting here places in proper perspective those who may say that the people of Madison County, or of this nation, no longer believe in those principles.

It is appropriate that we meet at our County Courthouse to pay tribute to James Madison. Here, the people have continuous contact with their government; here, courts of justice function; and here, important county officials confront the responsibilities of their offices. And so, here, past our time, will remain the plaque which is now presented to the people of Madison County. [Unveiling] Engraved on the plaque under the likeness of James Madison are these words:

James Madison 1750-1836. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature, the Continental Congress, the Federal Constitutional Convention, and the United States Congress. He later served as Secretary of State and as Fourth President of the United States.

Forty years a public servant, he helped to lead the nation through its formative years, and is known as the Father of the Constitution. He fought for religious liberty, the Bill of Rights and good government.

He appointed as first Governor of the Illinois Territory, Ninian Edwards, for whom Edwardsville is named. Madison County, named for President Madison, was created on September 14, 1812.

Presented to the people by the lawyers of Madison County acting through the Madison County Bar Association.

September—1955.

As we view this plaque, let us enshrine upon our minds and hearts these words of John Ruskin:

"Therefore, when we build let us think, that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight nor for present use alone. Let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for and let us think as we lay stone on stone that a time will come when these stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them and that men will say as they look upon the labor and the wrought substance of them, 'See, this our Fathers did for us.'"

Irving Dilliard of Collinsville, director of the Madison County Historical Society and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, accepted the plaque by saying:

As one of the 200,000 residents of Madison County I humbly but proudly accept for the people of our county this memorial to James Madison, for permanent preservation and display at this seat of our intimate local government. I would have gladly come here as a spectator to see the presentation that the Madison County Bar Association has so wisely arranged and to congratulate its members upon it. I would have been content to listen to my friend over nearly a quarter century, Irving Brant, the one most appropriate speaker among the 160,000,000 Americans for this occasion. In all the United States no one—and this does not exclude Dolly Madison—has ever lived from day to day with our fourth President as has the historian and biographer and student of government who so graciously has come out from Washington to be with us today in the county Illinois named for James Madison. To have heard from Irving Brant is almost to have heard from the Father of the Constitution himself.

The least each of us can be is appreciative of the lives and works of the great men who have built the nation we enjoy. One of the very greatest of these builders was the Virginian who became Thomas Jefferson's Secretary of State in whose administration the vast Louisiana Territory was purchased from France. Under this same Secretary of State Madison, two young captains, Lewis and Clark, set out into the danger-fraught wilderness of the Northwest and pushed on 150 years ago to the Pacific Ocean—all from a winter campsite and recruiting and provisioning ground on the bank of the Mississippi, in this very county, at the point where old Wood River joined the Father of Waters. Thanks to public-spirited citizens and officials, some of whom are with us here today, that historic spot will soon be commemorated in an Illinois State Park in Madison County opposite the wonder of the Missouri-Mississippi confluence which men have wanted to look upon since the great river valley was first inhabited.

But Madison did a far greater service to this country than to participate in the purchase of Louisiana Territory, epochal as that act of statesmanship was. He more than anyone else gave us the words of the First Amendment to the Constitution—the first article of the Bill of Rights with its guarantees of freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly. One way or another we, here at this gathering and at this very hour, are exercising all these liberties. Above all else Madison saw the necessity for keeping church and state separate. Indeed, he espoused the idea so firmly and so persuasively that it became known as “Mr. Madison’s Principle.” If we are as wise as he and if we do our work a fraction as well as he did his, we will make sure that the wall of separation remains strong and high for the protection of members of whatever faiths. For only where no church enjoys special advantages can religion be wholly free and churches prosper as they have in the United States. Let us at this moment thank Madison and the other architects of our religious freedom that a Catholic priest could open this ceremony and that a Protestant clergyman soon will close it. Let us and our children and our children’s children keep it ever thus in Madison County in the United States of America.

And now I ask that each and every one present join in accepting this gift that makes Madison County richer, more understanding, more appreciative of its honored name and our priceless heritage.

MEMORIAL TO JAMES L. REID: PIONEER CORN BREEDER

BY GEORGE H. IFTNER

A BRONZE PLAQUE on the face of a large boulder on a farm two miles northeast of Delavan in Tazewell County, Illinois, was dedicated on September 10, 1955. Commemorating the life work of an illustrious Illinoisan, it bears this inscription:

JAMES L. REID
1844-1910

PIONEER CORN BREEDER, A PATIENT AND THOUGHTFUL MAN WITH THE TEMPERAMENT OF AN ARTIST AND A MYSTIC. DEVELOPED REID'S YELLOW DENT CORN ON THIS FARM IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THIS HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE OPEN POLLINATED VARIETY WAS WIDELY ADAPTED, BECAME EXTENSIVELY GROWN, AND WAS THE SOURCE OF INBRED LINES USED AS PARENTS OF MANY PRESENT-DAY HYBRIDS.

HUMANITY IS INDEBTED TO JAMES L. REID AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE REID FAMILY FOR IMPROVING AMERICA'S GREATEST CROP—CORN.
ERECTED 1955.

A smaller plaque on the rear of the boulder contains the names of the sponsoring organizations: Tazewell County Farm Bureau, Tazewell County Board of Supervisors, Delavan Community Council, Illinois Department of Agriculture, Illinois Seed Dealers Association, University of Illinois College of Agriculture, and Michigan State University Corn Foundation.

James L. Reid was born in Russellville, Brown County, Ohio. When he was two years old his family moved to Illinois. His father Robert Reid brought along a few bushels of Gordon Hopkins seed corn, acting on the advice of his brother Daniel who had preceded him to Tazewell County and

cleared the ground. The following year, 1847, the crop started with a poor stand and much of it had to be replanted with native Little Yellow corn found growing on the Delavan prairie. This mixture of Ohio and Illinois varieties became the basis of Reid's Yellow Dent, further improved by selection. As young James grew up he "learned to follow the plow, select seed corn and developed a knowledge of farm management. . . . He early grasped the vision of how much could be accomplished for his fellow-countrymen by the development of the character of crops raised to feed the world. . . . From 1865 to 1880, James L. Reid gave special attention to the development of Reid's Yellow Dent." From 1880 to 1888 he raised corn in Osage County, Kansas and returned to Illinois on the death of his father in the latter year.

It became the custom to gather several bushels of splendid ears from the fields early in the fall. The best looking ones were used for exhibition purposes. . . .

In 1891 James L. Reid made a corn exhibition consisting of twelve ears at the Illinois State Fair in Peoria and . . . received the highest award. This . . . outside of his home county, . . . brought James L. Reid the first recognition of the work he had performed. . . . Two years later in . . . 1893, James L. Reid made an exhibition of Reid's Yellow Dent Corn at [the World's Columbian] Exposition [winning] the highest score a medal and a diploma. . . . Mr. Reid established a retail mail order seed corn trade. The corn was sent to many growers in Illinois, and neighboring States. State colleges of agriculture carried on experiments covering several years. . . .

In 1908 he accepted an invitation from J. Wilkes Jones of Lincoln, Illinois and manager of the National Corn Exposition at Omaha, Nebraska, to attend the big corn show. Mr. Jones . . . introduced him as the man who had put more millions into the pockets of the corn belt farmers, than any other living man.¹

The Michigan State University Corn Foundation chose Reid's development of Yellow Dent as one of the projects to

¹ William Reid Curran, "Indian Corn. Genesis of Reid's Yellow Dent," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XI (Jan., 1919), 576-85. This illustrated article gives additional facts about the Reid family and the development of Yellow Dent. A bibliography of the numerous articles which have appeared on the subject is available (mimeographed) from the Illinois Department of Agriculture, Springfield.



AT DEDICATION OF REID MARKER

Barbara Warkins of Erie, Whiteside County, unveils the marker honoring her great-grandfather James L. Reid. Shown with her, left to right, are: Louis B. Howard, dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, George H. Iftner, assistant director of the Illinois Department of Agriculture, and William Kuhfuss of Minier, Tazewell County Farm Bureau president.

be commemorated as highlights of the grain's history. Others will recognize the first cornfield of the Jamestown colonists; the inbred plots at the University of Illinois; the work of

hybrid corn growers; the development of farm machinery; and the introduction of corn breakfast cereals.²

A committee to plan a fitting memorial to Reid was named early in 1955 by the Tazewell County Farm Bureau. Its members were Dennis White, Deer Creek; Earl Urish, J. B. Allen and Ralph Allen, Delavan; Adam Herm, Peoria; and George H. Iftner, assistant director of the Illinois Department of Agriculture, Springfield.

At the Farm Bureau's request Dean Louis B. Howard of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture named Professors Emeritus William L. Burlison, Clyde M. Woodworth, Martin L. Mosher and John C. Spitler, and Professors Hadley Read, David Brown, Robert W. Jugenheimer and Harleigh R. Kemmerer as an advisory committee.

Fourteen Delavan citizens headed by Ralph Allen moved the three-and-a-half-ton boulder from Boynton Township to the Reid farm. The boulder may have been left by the glacier; or, since the masons preparing to fasten the plaque found that the stone contained more than thirty per cent iron, it may be of meteoric origin.

An exhibit of Reid pictures, manuscripts, awards and original samples of Yellow Dent, with displays by various seed corn companies, was held in the state armory at Delavan on September 10 preceding the ceremonies.

Dean Howard, President William J. Kuhfuss of the Farm Bureau, Ralph Allen and Professor Jugenheimer spoke briefly on various aspects of Reid's work. Professor Kenyon Payne of the Michigan State University Corn Foundation presented a citation to the Reid family, which was accepted by Clifford Warkins, Jr., of Erie, Reid's great-grandson. Mr. Iftner presented the family with pictures of James L. and Robert Reid.

The group then went by auto caravan to the Reid farm, where Iftner made a brief speech and Barbara Warkins of Erie, Reid's great-granddaughter, unveiled the plaque.

² Circular, Michigan State University Corn Foundation, East Lansing.

ORVILLE H. BROWNING: LINCOLN'S COLLEAGUE AND CRITIC

BY MAURICE G. BAXTER

A BRAHAM LINCOLN'S associate Orville H. Browning of Quincy, Illinois, is best remembered for his faithfully kept and historically valuable, though often tedious diary. For thirty years Browning and Lincoln were friends, fellow lawyers and political colleagues, with similar ideas and interests. Notwithstanding obvious differences, such as Browning's annoying pretensions and Lincoln's humility, a good many likenesses exist: their border-state background, their early experience as circuit lawyers and state legislators in Illinois, their Whig-Republican affiliations, their moral disapproval of slavery, and their concern about the survival of the Union. They were affected by comparable forces and circumstances, but Lincoln's political acumen and humanity led to his fame while Browning's position in history is secondary.

The long friendship of Browning and Lincoln began in December, 1836, when both were in the legislature at Vandalia. Browning, then thirty, had come to Quincy from Kentucky five years earlier and had quickly gained a favorable

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reputation as a civic leader, resourceful attorney, and volunteer in the Black Hawk War. Although his father was not wealthy, Browning had attended Augusta College in Kentucky, and was well indoctrinated in the social graces, cultured, confident and prepossessing. There was more than a suggestion of self-nominated superiority in his dress, manners and speech. The tall, rawboned, carelessly attired representative from New Salem must have presented a contrast to his dandyish colleague from the Military Tract. But as they became acquainted they doubtless found many things in common, such as their Kentucky connections, their political loyalties, even their marches against phantom Indians in 1832.

The close relations between Lincoln and the Brownings as early as April, 1838 is shown by Lincoln's "April fool" letter to Mrs. Browning burlesquing his unsuccessful courtship of Mary Owens; and at the first session of the legislature after the capital was moved to Springfield he joined three other Whigs in "respectfully represent[ing] to your *Honoreess*, that we are in great need of your society in this town of Springfield; and therefore humbly pray that your *Honoreess* will repair, forthwith to the Seat of Government, bringing in your train all ladies in general, who may be at your command; and all Mr. Browning's sisters in particular."¹

In the state legislature Browning was a senator for one term, 1836-1840, and a representative 1842-1844, while Lincoln served four terms in the House, 1834-1842. Thus in the day-to-day business of several sessions they worked at the same problems, usually with similar points of view. Numerous instances can be cited to show their close co-operation. During the depression of the late 1830's when specie was scarce and bank notes were plentiful both were ardent defenders of the Illinois State Bank at Springfield. Since the recharter of the

¹ Lincoln to Mrs. Browning, April 1, 1838, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. ed., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), I: 117-19; Lincoln, E. B. Webb, John J. Hardin and John Dawson to Mrs. Browning, *ibid.*, I: 156-57. Cited hereafter as *Collected Works*.

second Bank of the United States had been vetoed by President Andrew Jackson they found all the more reason for the continuance of this state institution; nor were they worried about Democratic charges of incompetence and malfeasance on the part of the bank—perhaps because it was under the direction of their Whig friends. The session of 1836-1837 was also marked by the struggle concerning the future location of the state capital. Leading that powerful delegation from Sangamon County known as the "Long Nine," Lincoln expertly directed a campaign for the selection of Springfield, receiving considerable assistance from Browning. The outcome was a victory over Stephen A. Douglas, who presented Jacksonville's bid, and the valiant John Dement, who hoped that Vandalia's new statehouse would continue to accommodate the government.²

Lincoln and his bloc indulged in log-rolling to accomplish their purpose. This legislature adopted an extravagant program for construction of roads, a canal, railroads and bridges, appealing to the special interests of all parts of the state.³ Here Lincoln does not appear to advantage, for he promoted the headlong rush toward unsound measures so as to marshal votes for Springfield as the new capital. Browning did not have a hand in these tactics, but zealously opposed the whole scheme of internal improvements.⁴ With the Panic of 1837 this fantastic undertaking, still in the planning stage, collapsed. Then Browning assumed a righteous attitude as he scolded his over-optimistic friends and opponents in the twelve-day summer session in 1837 and the winter sessions opening in December, 1838 and 1839. Serving on committees investigating the operations of the internal-improvement fund commissioners, he attacked officials who he thought were culpable for mishandling public moneys. Repeatedly, he argued

² *Journal of the Senate of the State of Illinois, 1836-1837* (Vandalia, 1837), 546-51, 592-93; *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], July 29, 1837.

³ John H. Krenkel, "Internal Improvements in Illinois Politics, 1837-1842," *Mid-America*, New Series, XX (April, 1949), 67-68.

⁴ *Journal of the Senate, 1836-1837*, 406, 487, 531.

that the state's troubles would have been entirely avoided if more attention had been given to economy and the actual resources of Illinois.⁵

It might seem that Browning would have profited by his safe, conservative position, while the ambitious advocates of the system would have become unpopular when their dreams were punctured. But so many men of both parties had supported internal improvements that few suffered because of it. Lincoln did not run for a fifth term in 1842, but this was not because of his connection with these discredited projects. Douglas, also committed to internal improvements, emerged unhurt, and probably lost few votes in his successful campaign for Congress against Browning in 1843 through his opponent's revival of this issue.⁶ Since Quincy already had a good highway, the Mississippi River, Browning could afford to shout for economy.

During the 1840's and early 1850's Lincoln and Browning devoted most of their time to the practice of law with only occasional detours into politics. Both for many years traveled the rigorous circuits where oratorical ability and original thought were more useful than a thorough knowledge of the law books—though Browning strove for that, too.⁷ Often they appeared in the state Supreme Court or the Federal courts at Springfield and Chicago, where their reputations as prominent members of the bar were acknowledged. An important case in the Federal District Court at Chicago in which the two were opposing counsel was *Forsythe v. Peoria* (1855).⁸ They collaborated as attorneys for the plaintiff in *Holloway v. Frink*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1837 (special session), 42, 46, 48, 128-33; *ibid.*, 1839-1840 (special session), 146, 224, 235; *Reports Made to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, 1838-1839* (Springfield, 1839), 113-31; *ibid.*, 1839-1840, 162-72; *Sangamo Journal*, June 28, Sept. 20, 1839.

⁶ *Quincy Whig*, June 21, 1843; Theodore C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 139.

⁷ Illinois State Bar Association, *In Memoriam, Orville H. Browning* (Springfield, 1882), 8; Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography* (New York, 1952), 92-100.

⁸ Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XX, XXII, Springfield, 1925, 1933), I: 191 (July 13, 1855). Cited hereafter as *Diary*.

(1853).⁹ When Lincoln had trouble in collecting his fee from the Illinois Central Railroad in 1857, Browning, Norman B. Judd, Archibald Williams and others certified that the fee of five thousand dollars was reasonable enough.¹⁰ Out of these associations came a reciprocal respect for each other's professional ability.

Henry Clay was the ideal statesman in the opinions of Lincoln and Browning. The Whig leader's advocacy of a protective tariff, a national bank, federal assistance to internal improvements, and a compromise of the slavery question was attractive to both men. Through the election of 1844 they enthusiastically supported the Kentuckian's persistent presidential ambitions. Browning glowed with pleasure when he was first introduced to Clay in July, 1844, during a visit in Lexington. He talked for nearly three hours with the famous man; and, at first sight, he was stirred to admiration: "I was never more charmed with a man. So plain, so unaffectedly kind, so dignified, so unaustentatious [*sic*], so simple in his manners and conversation, that he is irresistably fascinating."¹¹

Lincoln feared that Browning would allow his preference for Clay to interfere with his political sense in 1848. Strongly favoring Zachary Taylor for the presidential nomination, Lincoln was convinced that the Whig candidate must carry the young states of Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin and Florida, as "Old Rough and Ready" probably would, if the party were to win the election. Therefore Lincoln, then in Washington as a congressman, asked Archibald Williams of Quincy to use his influence with their mutual friend to "discard feeling, and try if he can possibly, as a matter of judgment, count the votes necessary to elect" Clay.¹² Despite the fact that Browning ran as a presidential elector on the Taylor ticket, he contributed

⁹ *Ibid.*, I: 92 (Jan. 25, 1853).

¹⁰ *Abraham Lincoln as Attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad Company*, (Ill. Central R.R. Co., Chicago, 1905).

¹¹ Browning to Mrs. Browning, July 24, 1844, Ricks Collection, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

¹² Lincoln to Archibald Williams, April 30, 1848, *Collected Works*, I: 467-68.

very little to the national victory.¹³ And the *Quincy Whig*, mentioning no names, blamed the party's loss of Illinois upon lassitude in some quarters.¹⁴

In 1850 and 1852 Browning campaigned for a seat in Congress against fellow-townsmen William A. Richardson, his perennially successful competitor. Though downcast at his defeats,¹⁵ he, as well as Lincoln, was soon roused from political apathy by an exploding debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854. Both men believed that the Missouri Compromise, which through the years had been regarded as inviolable, should not now be repudiated by opening up the Western territories to the extension of slavery. The free states had made sufficient concessions to the South in 1820 and 1850, they thought, and breaking the seals of these sacred agreements would endanger the integrity of the Union. At several mass meetings they expressed these views in vigorous attacks upon Douglas, sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.¹⁶

As the slavery question caused realignments in politics, Lincoln and Browning participated in the Anti-Nebraska movement of 1854 and in the formation of the new Republican Party. They wanted this organization to be basically conservative, committed to Whig principles, but inflexible with respect to the non-extension of slavery to the territories. They did not welcome nativist and abolitionist support of the Republican movement. Thus Browning wrote to Senator Lyman Trumbull, a former Democrat, now Republican:

We wish, if possible, to keep the party in this State under the control of moderate men, and conservative influences, and if we do so the future destiny of the State is in our own hands—victory will inevitably crown our exertions. On the contrary if rash and ultra counsels prevail all is lost.¹⁷

¹³ *Quincy Whig*, Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 14, 28, 1848.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1848.

¹⁵ Referring to the Whig defeat in the national elections, Browning said, "Badly, badly beaten, but, I trust, not conquered." After deploring "infamous" methods employed to defeat the Scott ticket, Browning declared, "The whig fires never burned more brightly in my own bosom. . . ." Browning to John Bagby, Nov. 12, 1852, Bagby Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

¹⁶ *Diary*, I: 130 (March 3, 1854), 132-33 (March 8), 155-57 (Oct. 9).

¹⁷ Browning to Trumbull, May 19, 1856, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

Lincoln's view was, if anything, even more cautious, for he continued to think of himself as a Whig some time after the disintegration of the Whig Party.¹⁸

In the Republican state conventions of the late 1850's Browning played an important role. The resolutions adopted at Bloomington in 1856, at Springfield in 1858 and at Decatur in 1860 were drafted by him in consultation with party chiefs.¹⁹ A significant part of the Bloomington pronouncements was:

Whereas—The present administration has prostituted its powers, and devoted all its energies to the propagation of slavery, and to its extension into territories heretofore dedicated to freedom, against the known wishes of the people of such territories, to the suppression of the freedom of speech, and of the press. . . .

Resolved, That we hold, in accordance with the opinions and practices of all the great statesmen of all parties, for the first sixty years of the administration of the government, that, under the constitution, Congress possesses full power to prohibit slavery in the territories.²⁰

Lincoln acknowledged Browning's aptitude for this kind of work when he wrote in December, 1856:

It has been suggested by some of our friends that during the session of the Legislature here [Springfield] this winter, the Republicans ought to get up a sort of party State address; and again it has been suggested that you could draw up such a thing as well if not better than any of us. Think about it.²¹

As Lincoln rose to political prominence, Browning's attitude toward him, though amicable on the surface, was marked by a strange indifference that may have concealed some jealousy. There are only exasperatingly casual references in Browning's diary to Lincoln's "lost speech" at the

¹⁸ Lincoln remarked to Joshua Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, "I think I am a whig; but others say there are no whigs. . . ." *Collected Works*, II: 322-23. The entire letter shows Lincoln's political thinking at this time.

¹⁹ *Diary*, I: 237 (May 28, 1856), 327 (June 16, 1858), 406 (May 10, 1860). In the Ill. State Hist. Lib. are manuscript notes of the committee on resolutions of the Illinois Republican Party Convention of 1858, and part of them are in Browning's handwriting.

²⁰ *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], May 30, 1856.

²¹ Lincoln to Browning, Dec. 15, 1856, *Collected Works*, II: 386.

Republican state convention at Bloomington on May 29, 1856 and the "house-divided" speech of June 16, 1858, when he accepted the party's nomination for United States senator. The proud Quincyman felt himself at least equal, and probably superior, to his Springfield friend. Each of them would have been pleased to have become United States senator in 1855, but the place went to Lyman Trumbull.²² Browning was later tempted to run for the House but then declined to do so,²³ while Lincoln's opportunity came in 1858.

The sixth of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates was held at Quincy on October 13. When Lincoln arrived in town that morning, there was an elaborate procession through the streets to the courthouse where he was officially welcomed by a reception committee. Afterward, he and his company retired to Browning's house until the debate commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon.²⁴ But the host was absent, attending court in Carthage, where he made a perfunctory diary entry that the two candidates were then appearing in Quincy.²⁵

In the period prior to the Republican national convention of 1860 Browning showed disinterest in the movement to nominate Lincoln for the presidency. He contributed as much as he could to the cause of Edward Bates of St. Louis, who seemed to him a good choice owing to his old-line Whiggery and his supposed following in the border states. During a visit to St. Louis in September, 1859, Browning conferred with Bates and came away with the impression that the Missourian would enter the race.²⁶ When he met fellow Republicans, such as Norman B. Judd of Chicago and Charles B. Lawrence

²² *Diary*, I: 168 (Jan. 11, 1855).

²³ *Ibid.*, I: 334 (Aug. 25, 1858); Abraham Jonas to Lincoln, Aug. 5, 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Lib. of Cong., cited hereafter as Lincoln Papers; William T. Ramsay to John Bagby, Aug. 18, 1858, Bagby Papers.

²⁴ *Quincy Whig and Republican*, Oct. 13-14, 1858.

²⁵ *Diary*, I: 339 (Oct. 13, 1858).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I: 381 (Sept. 28, 1859). See also Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1930, IV, Washington, 1933), 47.



Photo from the Frederick H. Meserve Collection

ORVILLE HICKMAN BROWNING

of Galesburg, he warmly endorsed Bates.²⁷ On February 8, 1860 he attended a meeting of the Republican State Central Committee at Springfield, and in the evening Richard Yates, David L. Phillips of Jonesboro, and Lincoln gathered in Browning's room. In surprisingly bad taste, he extolled Bates' qualifications. Lincoln took the incident in stride and even agreed that Bates might get votes in Sangamon County he himself could not get. According to Browning's record of the parley, Lincoln conceded that he might find "that the

²⁷ *Diary*, I: 382 (Oct. 12, 1859), 396 (Feb. 20, 1860).

very best thing that can be done will be to nominate Mr Bates."²⁸

In mid-May Browning was in Chicago attending the national convention as a delegate-at-large from Illinois with instructions to support Lincoln. Notwithstanding his personal preferences, he advocated with some effect the selection of the "Rail Splitter." Calling on the delegations of several states, he and his colleagues sought to arrange advance pledges. Paradoxically, on May 17, he and Gustave Koerner were dispatched to combat a Bates move at a meeting of representatives from the "key" states of Indiana, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. When they arrived, Francis P. Blair, Jr., was urging a coalition behind Bates. Browning countered with references to Lincoln's old Whig connections and his long-standing opposition to Native Americanism, which would draw the foreign vote all over the country. As Koerner later recalled the incident, "He wound up with a most beautiful and eloquent eulogy on Lincoln, which electrified the meeting."²⁹ At the close of the dramatic session of the convention the next day when Lincoln was nominated, Browning delivered a speech appropriately soothing the disappointed followers of William H. Seward. Contending that Illinois could support Lincoln more strongly than any other man, he appealed for harmony in the Republican Party.³⁰

However convincing he may have seemed to others, Browning had not convinced himself; he held stubbornly to the notion of Bates's superiority and thought that "we have made a mistake in the selection of candidates."³¹ He felt this judgment was confirmed when, as soon as he returned home,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I: 395 (Feb. 8, 1860).

²⁹ Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1909), II: 87-89.

³⁰ *Press & Tribune Documents for 1860*, No. 3. *Proceedings of the National Republican Convention, Held at Chicago, May 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1860* (Chicago, 1860), 34. The beginning leaf for May 18 in Browning's diary (original MS in Ill. State Hist. Lib.) is unfortunately missing, and the intact pages are disappointing in their lack of information about the proceedings of the convention.

³¹ *Diary*, I: 407-8 (May 18, 1860), 409-10 (May 22).

he received from Springfield a joint letter dated three days after Lincoln's nomination from David Davis, Thomas A. Marshall, Norman B. Judd, Ebenezer Peck and Ozias M. Hatch, asking him to persuade Bates to make a speaking tour through some Illinois towns in behalf of Lincoln. Bates could be of great service in the western part of the state, they said, and "there must be no mistake about carrying Illinois."³² This appeal is a strong indication that Browning's friends suspected that he was not yet reconciled to Lincoln's nomination.

Browning hastened to assure Hatch and the others that he was quite satisfied with the results of the Chicago convention. He promised to co-operate wholeheartedly in the campaign, for this was a very worthy cause "apart from the personal regard and attachment which we all have for Mr Lincoln." Yet he could not go to St. Louis to confer with Bates about canvassing the Military Tract, he explained, because of his own professional commitments.³³ The next day he changed his mind: "I have determined this morning, (after consulting my wife, as every sensible husband should do) to go to St Louis on to days packet. . . ." He was doing so, however, "at the greatest possible inconvenience."³⁴

In this second letter to Hatch, Mrs. Browning enclosed an interesting note of her own, revealing much about both husband and wife. With regard to the coming canvass, she sharply commented, "As Mr Browning has been the *Dray Horse* for his party the last 25 years you need not fear he will neglect its interest in any respect." Her idea of strategy (and undoubtedly Browning's, too) was not the same as that of the party managers: "I fear fence rails nor the low 'Slang Name' of Old Abe will not do it; but the Hon Abram Lincoln with the hearty efforts of all good Republican[s], & the blessing of an Over-ruleing Providence *will* do it."³⁵ Perhaps the

³² Original in Browning Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

³³ Browning to Hatch, May 22, 1860, Hatch Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

³⁴ Browning to Hatch, May 23, 1860, *ibid.*

³⁵ Mrs. Browning to Hatch, May 23, 1860, *ibid.*

Brownings were merely worrying that Lincoln might be misrepresented to the public; or was there an implication that Lincoln was in fact deficient in dignity and respectability?

Browning labored earnestly for his party's victory. He went to St. Louis and secured a letter from Bates endorsing Lincoln, which was published in the newspapers.³⁶ Bates would not, however, come to Illinois to speak.³⁷ But Browning did not stay home and sulk, for at many mass meetings during the summer and early autumn he urged a Republican vote. At the great rally on August 8 at the fairgrounds in Springfield, Senators James R. Doolittle and Lyman Trumbull, John Wilson of Chicago, Koerner and Browning spoke. The latter talked for more than two hours in his typical florid, expansive style about the necessity and power of limiting the spread of slavery. In order to attract the votes of conservatives, he gave more praise to the dead Henry Clay than to the living Abraham Lincoln.³⁸

An illustration of the continuing friendship of the two men during this period is a letter from Browning to Lincoln in July. The Board of Trustees of Knox College, of which Browning was a member, decided to award the Republican presidential candidate an honorary degree. This was done in the case of "a few *very distinguished, and worthy gentlemen*," Browning pointed out to Lincoln, whose name had been proposed by the faculty for the honor. The Board did not think it would look well "to refuse this honor to the President of the United States, and so the thing was ordered accordingly." With feigned gravity, he continued:

You will, therefore, after tomorrow consider yourself a "scholar," as well as a "gentleman," and deport yourself accordingly.

³⁶ *Diary*, I: 411-12 (May 24, 1860).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I: 416 (June 19, 1860); *Diary of Edward Bates*, 132 (May 31, 1860), 136 (June 16); Samuel T. Glover to Browning, June 13, 1860, Browning Papers; *Missouri Republican* [St. Louis], June 20, 1860.

³⁸ This speech was printed in pamphlet form as *Speech of Hon. O. H. Browning, Delivered at the Republican Mass-Meeting, Springfield, Ill., August 8th, 1860* (Quincy, Ill., 1860).

And however sceptical you may be upon the subject, you will, in due time, receive conclusive documentary evidence that the fact is so, and that you are in reality a Doctor of laws.³⁹

In the critical months between Lincoln's election and inauguration Browning joined the host of correspondents advising the President-to-be about appointments and policies of state. He tried strenuously but unsuccessfully to convince Lincoln to select Bates as secretary of state. Lincoln had slated Seward for that position from the beginning, but Bates did become attorney general.⁴⁰ Browning spiritedly disapproved a suggestion that Judd be chosen secretary of the interior,⁴¹ while he recommended retaining Joseph Holt of the Buchanan administration in the War Department.⁴² Fundamentally, what he wanted was a cabinet of moderate men so as to pacify the disturbed South.

Early in 1861 he undertook to secure a place for himself on the bench of the United States Supreme Court. A petition in his behalf was sent to Lincoln on January 7 by Samuel C. Pomeroy, James H. Lane and Martin F. Conway.⁴³ Henry Asbury, a fellow lawyer of Quincy, wrote to Attorney General Bates on April 8 on the subject but insisted that Browning had no knowledge of this application.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the following day Browning did appeal to the President, asserting "that there is nothing in your power to do for me which would gratify me so much as this."⁴⁵ Two months later Mrs. Browning wrote Lincoln pointing out her husband's unselfish services for the party, his modesty, and his need of financial security. Two or three years previous, she confided, he had

³⁹ Browning to Lincoln, July 4, 1860, Lincoln Papers. Knox College was the first to award Lincoln an honorary degree. Columbia College followed on June 26, 1861, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton) on Dec. 20, 1864.

⁴⁰ Charles Gibson to Browning, Oct. 28, 1860; Browning to Lincoln, Nov. 9, Dec. 9, 1860, all in Lincoln Papers.

⁴¹ *Diary*, I: 448 (Jan. 13, 1861); Browning to Lincoln, Jan. 15, 1861, Lincoln Papers. Browning was encouraged in his stand against Judd by John Wentworth, the latter's long-time bitter foe in Chicago politics.

⁴² Browning to Lincoln, Jan. 19, 1861, *ibid.*; *Diary*, I: 449 (Jan. 19, 1861).

⁴³ Lincoln Papers.

⁴⁴ Browning Papers.

⁴⁵ Lincoln Papers.

suffered a rupture of the bowels, which might at any time make it impossible for him to practice law.⁴⁶ The Court appointment would presumably insure them against poverty in their old age.

None of these requests produced the desired result; yet, as judicial vacancies remained unfilled, Browning still had hopes. In 1862, according to William H. Herndon, Lincoln was near to a decision in favor of the Quincyan and was quoted as saying, "I do not know what I may do when the time comes, but there has never been a day when if I had to act I should not have appointed Browning."⁴⁷ At this time Leonard Swett went to Washington in order to urge the selection of David Davis, who was apparently being assisted also by Mrs. Lincoln. Browning, she declared to Swett, had become "distressingly loving" before his recent departure from the capital, and she was glad he had left.⁴⁸ This would suggest that Browning had failed to enlist the support of the President's wife and that she possibly had some influence upon the appointment of Davis. How valid such a conclusion is may be dubious in the absence of corroborative testimony.⁴⁹

When Lincoln was revising his inaugural address, he asked Browning to read a preliminary draft and criticize it.⁵⁰ Generally pleased with the paper's clear, statesmanlike language, Browning's attention was drawn to one paragraph:

⁴⁶ Mrs. Browning to Lincoln, June 8, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (Paul M. Angle, ed., New York, 1930), 406; Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), 40, 52.

⁴⁸ Leonard Swett to Mrs. Laura R. Swett and William W. Orme, Aug. 10, 1862, David Davis Papers, photostat in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

⁴⁹ Browning's friend, Bates, was working in his behalf in early 1862. *Diary of Edward Bates*, 244 (March 26, 1862). For criticism of Browning's conduct see Harlan H. Horner, "Lincoln Rebukes a Senator," *Journal Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIV (Summer, 1951), 109-10.

⁵⁰ *Diary*, I: 455-56 (Feb. 12, 1861). In the Lincoln Papers are two printed "Editions" of the First Inaugural set up in Springfield prior to Lincoln's departure for Washington. The second one is the version submitted to Browning, and the copy with his suggestions written on it is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. See editors' note in *Collected Works*, IV: 249 and *ibid.*, 249-71 for the texts with footnotes indicating revisions. Further information is in John Hay to Charles Eliot Norton, March 25, 1889, "Lincoln Photostats," Box II, Lib. of Cong., and in J. G. Randall, *Living with Lincoln and Other Essays* (Decatur, Ill., 1949), 20-24.

All the power at my disposal will be used to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen; to hold, occupy and possess these, and all other property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties on imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion of any State.⁵¹

He objected to the first clause, which referred to reclamation of public property fallen to the Confederacy. In his opinion the only possible effect of this statement would be further irritation of the South. That section, and even the border-state area, would interpret it as a threat; and the highest object of all, the preservation of the Union, would not be gained by using the word "reclaim." He did not doubt that the President had the power to act in this respect, but he believed that it was inadvisable to say so at this time. In explaining his stand to Lincoln in a letter on February 17, 1861, Browning discussed the secession crisis. The first move to supply or reinforce Fort Sumter, he predicted, would induce South Carolina to attack it. Then, without an aggressive act by the Federal government, the South would appear in an unjustifiable position—the responsibility for beginning a war would rest entirely on her.⁵²

Lincoln accepted Browning's suggestion, and the final draft of the inaugural omitted the clause concerning reclamation of public property. This significant change reflected a sincere effort by Lincoln to avert the coming conflict, but it was not a deceitful manipulation, as some writers have contended or as Browning may have implied, designed only to transfer the blame for causing bloodshed. The inference has been drawn that Lincoln purposefully adjusted the situation at Sumter so as to put the South in the wrong and to give the North moral justification for using armed force against the newly formed Confederacy.⁵³

⁵¹ Lincoln Papers, p. 7697.

⁵² Browning to Lincoln, Feb. 17, 1861, *ibid.*

⁵³ For example, Charles W. Ramsdell, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," *Journal of Southern History*, III (Aug., 1937), 259-88.

After war commenced, Browning and Lincoln had a lengthy conversation about the Sumter crisis; the President said that he had overruled most of his cabinet, as well as General Winfield Scott, in deciding to supply and defend Sumter; and this was regarded by South Carolina as an unendurable provocation. In his diary Browning noted, "The plan succeeded. They attacked Sumter—it fell, and thus, did more service than it otherwise could."⁵⁴

There is a natural tendency for men to transpose their own opinions to the minds of others. Browning may have unconsciously done this in regard to this interview. He himself had thought that swift, forceful measures would crush the secession movement, but that the government would be in a better position to do this if the South could be maneuvered into committing an overt act of aggression. His letter of February 17, 1861, would suggest that he had wanted the course of action which he now said Lincoln had taken:

The first attempt that is made to furnish supplies or reinforcements to Sumter will induce aggression by South Carolina, and then the government will stand justified, before the entire country, in repelling that aggression, and retaking the forts.

And so it will be every where, and all the places now occupied by traitors can be recaptured without affording them additional material with which to inflame the public mind by representing your inaugural as containing an irritating threat.⁵⁵

But Browning's prediction of the outbreak of fighting does not prove that Lincoln desired it: and the later diary account of Lincoln's analysis of his motives is not altogether unimpeachable evidence.⁵⁶

During this period Browning appears to have broken away from his usual conservatism and advocacy of conciliating the South. He responded to the exciting stimuli of the crisis

⁵⁴ *Diary*, I: 476 (July 3, 1861).

⁵⁵ Browning to Lincoln, Feb. 17, 1861, Lincoln Papers.

⁵⁶ The whole Sumter question, including the significance of Browning's record of the interview with Lincoln, is treated in J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (New York, 1945), I: 311-50.

with partisan zeal, from which he subsequently retreated. In the days of uncertainty he despaired of a let-alone policy that might permit the dissolution of the Union by default. On the eve of the war he wrote to the President:

I am satisfied, even now, that it would be better, if the power and the means existed, to maintain the union, the constitution and the laws, even at the point of the bayonet, than to stand acquiescently by and let all go to pieces.⁵⁷

But Lincoln still hoped to avoid the use of arms, for, as he said in his inaugural:

Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.⁵⁸

After the death of Douglas on June 3, 1861, Governor Richard Yates appointed Browning to the Senate where he served in the special session of that summer, the regular session beginning in December, and part of the one the following year. For a while he fully supported all administration measures, even the first Confiscation Act which provided for seizure of property, including slaves, employed by Confederate troops.⁵⁹ As time passed, his ideas changed with regard to prosecuting a vengeful war against the South, and he found fault with the rising radical wing of the Republican Party. In his opinion, Lincoln, bearing the immense burden of leadership and sometimes weakening under it, was too much influenced by the "ultras." He feared the President would grow so despondent that he would accede to Radical demands for the abolition of slavery and harsh treatment of the Southern states when they were subdued. Therefore he sought to shore up Lincoln's courage with such advice as this on September 10, 1862:

⁵⁷ Browning to Lincoln, March 26, 1861, Lincoln Papers.

⁵⁸ *Collected Works*, IV: 270-71.

⁵⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 sess., 219 (July 22, 1861); *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XII: 319.

The skies do not look very dark to me. I think I can see glorious light beyond the gloom. Be of good cheer—hold yourself up to the work with a pure mind, and an eye singled to your country's good, and all things will yet be well. *You cannot fail.*

The hearts of the people were never warmer for you than they are today—their stout arms never more ready to come to your aid, and do to the death in our good, great, glorious cause.⁶⁰

Despite the cheerful tone of this letter, Browning was depressed by some of the measures adopted by the recent Congress. The second Confiscation Act,⁶¹ signed reluctantly by Lincoln in spite of objections based both on the Constitution and on expediency,⁶² was an anomalous statute treating the Confederates at times as traitorous citizens of the United States and at others as subjects of a foreign foe. It seemed to Browning plainly to demolish civil liberties if the Confederate states had not really seceded from the Union, while it was entirely outside *legislative* competence if they had.

Browning admitted Lincoln's power as commander-in-chief to wield unusual authority in the emergency; Congress, on the other hand, he believed, was not empowered to act otherwise than in time of peace.⁶³ Similarly when in August, 1861, Browning had urged Lincoln to approve the proclamation of General John C. Frémont, commanding in the West, instituting martial law in Missouri and ordering confiscation of property (including emancipation of slaves) of those who were assisting the enemy, his actions were based on the same theory—that the executive, acting through the military, could do things forbidden to the legislative branch. Browning at that time was unconcerned about the effects of these steps in the border states or about constitutional niceties.⁶⁴ Lincoln, mindful of these things, did not follow Browning's counsel

⁶⁰ Browning to Lincoln, Sept. 10, 1862, Lincoln Papers.

⁶¹ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XII: 589-92.

⁶² Lincoln's objections are in *Senate Journal*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 872-74 and in *Collected Works*, V: 328-31.

⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 2, 1136-41 (March 10, 1862), 1856-61 (April 29), pt. 4, 2917-24 (June 25).

⁶⁴ Browning to Lincoln, Sept. 11, 17, 30, 1861, Lincoln Papers.

but directed Frémont to rescind the proclamation.⁶⁵ This argument conceded the validity of the presidential Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves behind enemy lines. Browning's constitutional theory was consistent; the difference between his earlier and later views rested on concepts of policy, not legality. He felt that the Emancipation Proclamation and the practice of arbitrarily arresting persons suspected of disloyalty were unwise and would antagonize many conservatives.⁶⁶ They would prolong Confederate resistance and alienate much support for the Union in the North, he warned. The two men were never thereafter close political friends.⁶⁷

Many times Lincoln and Browning discussed great problems facing the country. Browning wrote a memorandum on the points of international law involved in the removal of the Confederate commissioners Mason and Slidell from the British ship *Trent*, favoring a policy of cautious restraint such as was ultimately adopted.⁶⁸ Often in his regular visits to the White House, Browning scanned the battle maps while Lincoln reviewed news from Bull Run, the Virginia Peninsula, or Vicksburg. The President often talked about the ever-present difficulty of finding a winning general. George B. McClellan, while commanding on the eastern front, was a recurrent subject of conversation. Browning observed the distress that "Little Mac" caused Lincoln, heard the nagging complaints by Radicals like Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and half believed that McClellan had joined the subversive Knights of the Golden Circle.⁶⁹ Subsequently, Browning

⁶⁵ Lincoln's carefully worded reply to Browning on Sept. 22, 1861 urged him to give up his "restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election, and have approved in my public documents. . . ." *Collected Works*, IV: 531-33.

⁶⁶ *Diary*, I: 578 (Oct. 14, 1862), 585 (Nov. 12).

⁶⁷ Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued Sept. 22, 1862, depressed Browning and probably caused him to contribute little to the Republican campaign. The *Quincy Whig* (Nov. 10, 1862) turned against him after the election.

⁶⁸ *Diary*, I: 513 (Dec. 6, 1861), 516-17 (Dec. 21).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I: 537-40 (April, 1862); "A member of the N.G.C. [Knights of the Golden Circle]" to Browning, Jan. 16, 1862, Browning Papers; Browning memorandum, July 11, 1862, *ibid.*

altered his estimate of McClellan and thought that it was a mistake to have relieved him.

To Browning, whose home in Quincy was directly across the Mississippi from Missouri, raiding guerrillas were a grave danger. In his self-appointed role as adviser and correspondent to the chief executive, he urged strong measures to make that state safe.⁷⁰ In Illinois, Indiana and Ohio uncomfortably large numbers of peace advocates collaborated with the Democrats dissatisfied with Lincoln's leadership. The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862 and the victory of anti-administration candidates in the election of that year (causing his displacement from the Senate in January, 1863) were lengthily discussed in Browning's alarmed letters to Lincoln. He seemed to be acting as a scout whose mission was to discover and describe political trends.

On occasion Browning served as an intermediary between local figures and the President. There was the Louisiana Unionist Cuthbert Bullitt, for whom Browning had successfully solicited the post of Collector of Customs for the Port of New Orleans.⁷¹ Bullitt toiled for the election of pro-Lincoln candidates in the "reconstructed" state of Louisiana, stoutly fought the Chase boom in 1864, and fully reported his achievements to Browning and Lincoln. Bullitt relied upon Browning's good offices with the President to protect him from the consequences of Chase's use of Treasury officials to promote his own political fortunes. Lincoln's papers include several newspaper clippings and detailed communications dispatched via Browning.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Diary*, I: 565-66 (Aug. 2, 1862); Browning to Lincoln, Aug. 4, 1862, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XIII, 533-34.

⁷¹ *Diary*, I: 550 (June 12, 1862); Browning to Lincoln, July 1, 1863, Lincoln Papers.

⁷² Bullitt to Browning, Feb. 23, 25, May 17, 1864, *ibid.* See also Bullitt to Lincoln, May 17, 1864, *ibid.* Browning also befriended William C. Bibb of Montgomery, Alabama, who came to Washington in April, 1865 to arrange for an exchange of Northern goods for Southern cotton but, arriving too late in the war for this, sought to ascertain Lincoln's intended reconstruction policy. Browning aided Bibb in securing an interesting interview with the President, who indicated his desire for lenient meas-

Unwilling to come out openly against Lincoln in the campaign of 1864, reluctant to declare in favor of the Democratic slate headed by McClellan, and hostile to Chase, the Radicals' favorite who was vainly trying to win the Republican nomination, Browning struck the pose of non-partisanship, leading both parties to claim his support.⁷³ He was, he confided to Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania, in a "strait" between Lincoln and McClellan. As to the former, he said:

. . . You know, strange as it may seem to you, that I am personally attached to the President, and have faithfully tried to uphold him, and make him respectable; tho' I never have been able to persuade myself that he was big enough for his position. Still, I thought he might get through, as many a boy through college, without disgrace, and without knowledge; and I fear he is a failure.⁷⁴

Still he could not bring himself to endorse McClellan.

Browning's indecision concealed how he actually voted, and he may not even have cast a ballot. Thomas Ewing, with whom he agreed on nearly every question at this time, wrote approvingly about the "Union" party's victory in Ohio.⁷⁵ It is reasonable to suppose that Browning had the same reaction when Lincoln was re-elected on November 8.

Not long after Browning left the Senate in 1863 he entered a law partnership with Thomas Ewing, Edgar Cowan and Britton A. Hill for practice in the courts at Washington and for representation of clients in business with the government departments.⁷⁶ This extensive and lucrative activity closely skirted, if it did not really constitute, influence peddling. Browning was busy in arranging contracts with the War Department, consulting officials and congressmen in behalf of persons with all sorts of special requests, and often

ures. *Diary*, II: 16, 17, 24 (April, 1865); William C. Bibb, "Visit of an Alabamian to Washington City in the Spring of 1865," *Gulf Messenger* [San Antonio, Texas], VI (March-April, 1893).

⁷³ Browning to James Strain, Sept. 25, 1863, Browning Papers; *Quincy Whig and Republican*, Sept. 5, 7-8, 1864; *Baltimore Evening Post*, Sept. 30, 1864.

⁷⁴ Browning to Cowan, Sept. 6, 1864, photostat in University of Chicago Library.

⁷⁵ Ewing to Browning, Oct. 12, 1864, Thomas Ewing Letter Book, Lib. of Cong.

⁷⁶ *Diary*, I: 644 (Oct. 12, 1863), 650-51 (Dec., 1863).

visiting the President to secure passes through the battle lines or paroles from prison camps.⁷⁷ This kind of labor was not uncommon in the wartime capital, nor was any of it, so far as is known, illegal; but the question of propriety might be raised, particularly in view of Browning's exploitation of his personal friendships and political acquaintances for professional purposes.

Important clients during the winter of 1863-1864 were Edward L. Baker, Roswell E. Goodell and Dr. Edwin S. Fowler of Springfield. They had formed a company under Fowler's name and secured profitable government contracts from Ninian W. Edwards, a United States commissary, Lincoln's brother-in-law and Baker's father-in-law. Edwards, recommended by Browning for the commissary appointment that seems to have brought in more than the official salary, caused the President some embarrassing moments. There were charges of wrongdoing, substantial enough to cause the War Department to seek reclamations. Browning conferred with officials in Washington, including Stanton and Lincoln, in behalf of this company which agreed to pay him a fee of five thousand dollars.⁷⁸

In the early part of 1865 Browning, James W. Singleton and others sought to make huge profits for themselves by engaging in trade with Confederate-held Richmond. Their ambitious project of transporting seven million dollars worth of cotton, tobacco, rosin and turpentine to Northern markets failed when Lee surrendered before anything could be done.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I: 655-74, 699 (Jan.-Dec., 1864); Edward L. Baker to Browning, Jan. 27, 1864, Browning Papers; Browning to Annie Jonas, June 2, 1864, Weik Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; Browning to Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1865, Lincoln Papers.

⁷⁸ *Diary*, I: 651, 652, 656, 658, 660, 661, 670 (Dec., 1863-May, 1864). Among letters in the Lincoln Papers criticizing Edwards and demanding his removal are William Yates to Lincoln, May 22, 1863; Jesse K. Dubois and others to Lincoln, May 23, 1863; Jacob Bunn to Lincoln, May 25, 1863; Shelby M. Cullom to Lincoln, May 25, 1863; Ozias M. Hatch to Lincoln, May 25, 1863. See also Browning to Lincoln, June 6, 1863; Edwards to Bates, June 6, 18, 1863; Edwards to Lincoln, June 18, 1863, *ibid.*; Lincoln to Dubois and others, May 29, 1863, *Collected Works*, VI: 237-38; Lincoln to Edward L. Baker, June 15, 1863, *ibid.*, VI: 275-76.

⁷⁹ *Diary*, I: 699 (Dec. 24, 1864), II: 4 (Jan. 30, 1865), 5 (Feb. 1, 7), 7 (Feb. 22), 26 (May 2).

They had, however, obtained Lincoln's written permission, to which Stanton and Grant strongly objected but which they interpreted as sufficient authority to proceed, that they might bring in "any Southern products, and go to any of our trading posts, there to be subject to the regulations of the Treasury Department."⁸⁰

Although Lincoln and Browning diverged politically, the personal part of their relationship was firm. After their extended discussions about the progress of the war, Lincoln would pick up a book of poetry and read aloud or would tell a joke in his own peculiar manner. Browning's ready access to the President's office, when swarms of people waited or were turned away, was proof of Lincoln's friendship. Lincoln visited the Senate Chamber as Browning eulogized their friend, Colonel Edward D. Baker, killed at Ball's Bluff in 1861. The two men exchanged news about friends or relatives in Kentucky who were supporting the Confederacy. In February, 1862, the Brownings stayed at the White House day and night when Willie and Tad Lincoln were ill.⁸¹ Browning arranged for Willie's burial in a vault belonging to William Thomas Carroll, clerk of the Supreme Court, and on the day of the funeral he accompanied Lincoln in the procession to the Georgetown cemetery and sat up that night with the President watching over Tad's sickbed.⁸²

At eleven o'clock in the evening of April 14, 1865, the Brownings had retired but were not yet asleep when the doorbell rang and Judge John S. Watts announced that the President, Secretary of State Seward, and the latter's son had been attacked by assassins. Browning was "overwhelmed with

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II: 2 (Jan. 5, 1865). See also *ibid.*, II: 5 (Feb. 1, 1865), 10-11 (March 11-12), 13 (March 21). Lincoln and other authorities signed a permit for Robert Coxe, one of Browning's associates in this venture, to bring through the lines large quantities of Southern products. Coxe had secured a contract with Hanson A. Risley, a purchasing agent in the Treasury Department, to exchange 50,000 bales of cotton, 10,000 boxes of manufactured tobacco, 10,000 barrels of turpentine, and 10,000 barrels of rosin for greenbacks. Photostat in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 1, 52-53 (Dec. 11, 1861); *Diary*, I: 530-31 (Feb. 20, 1862), 567, 569 (Sept., 1862), II: 2 (Jan. 5, 1865).

⁸² *Ibid.*, I: 530-31 (Feb. 21-24, 1862).

horror at this shocking event." Only a few hours earlier he had called at the White House but had been unable to see Lincoln, who was preparing to go to Ford's Theatre. This tragedy now deprived the country of a leader who, Browning believed, was the South's friend and who had planned to follow a lenient reconstruction policy. Disastrous results would follow, he feared: anarchy, unprovoked murder of suspected traitors, and overpowering despotism. In his diary Browning wrote, "To my apprehension it is the heaviest calamity that could have befallen the country. But we are in God's hands. His dealings are mysterious—his ways past finding out, but we must trust to his wisdom & goodness."⁸³

Like many of Lincoln's other friends, Browning was pressed in the postwar years for information by biographers who wanted to show the "real" character of the Civil War President. His statements show a generally favorable estimate, though not without qualifications. Browning agreed with the sharp criticism that was heaped upon the *Life of Abraham Lincoln from His Birth to His Inauguration as President* published in 1872 under the name of Ward Hill Lamon, who had purchased a copy of "Billy" Herndon's collection of facts and fancy called the "Lincoln record," but had turned over the actual job of writing to Chauncey F. Black. This book led the reader to believe that Lincoln was illegitimate, an atheist, so broken-hearted about the death of Ann Rutledge that he was never truly devoted to his wife, and that his wily political maneuvers (guided by Herndon) won him the presidency.⁸⁴ David Davis, Isaac N. Arnold and other Illinoisans attempted to suppress or refute much of the Lamon book⁸⁵ and asked Browning in particular about Lincoln's courtship of Mary Owens, about which Lincoln had written Mrs. Brown-

⁸³ *Ibid.*, II: 18-20 (April 14, 1865).

⁸⁴ Boston, 1872. For expert analyses of the Lamon-Black biography see David Donald, *Lincoln's Herndon* (New York, 1948), 250-84; Benjamin P. Thomas, *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1947), 29-64.

⁸⁵ Arnold later wrote *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1885).

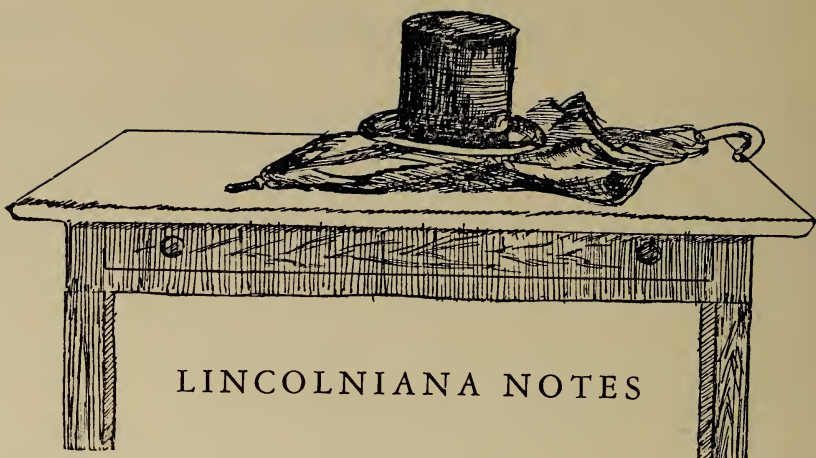
ing on April 1, 1838. In a letter of Browning's to Arnold, November 25, 1872 he stated that it was not until 1862 that Mrs. Browning learned from the President that "the narrative of the letter was not fiction but a true account of an incident in actual life. . . . Neither Mrs. Browning nor myself ever knew from him who the lady referred to in the letter was. Of course neither of us ever asked him, nor did he ever inform us. If the feelings of others have been injured, I think it is chargeable upon the biographer, and not upon Mr. Lincoln."⁸⁶

To state Browning's belief about Lincoln's abilities is difficult, because it varied from time to time. He disagreed with the Lamon-Black account as a whole, testified to Lincoln's good qualities and reaffirmed their long-standing friendship. Lincoln's religious beliefs were unorthodox, he conceded, but not atheistic.⁸⁷ In a conversation with Davis he did not appear to doubt the illegitimacy of Lincoln's birth although he thought it improper to write about it.⁸⁸ Frequently he was capable of implicitly or explicitly deprecating his friend's ability to fulfil the great responsibilities placed upon him. This attitude may have been partly due to jealousy; but it also reflected a firm conviction that Lincoln was hardly big enough to match his reputation. Nevertheless, a common denominator of their relationship was a close personal attachment, strangely resistant to the stresses of different temperaments and political disagreements.

⁸⁶ Harry E. Barker, pub., *Abraham Lincoln and Mary Owens, Three Letters, Lincoln to Mrs. O. H. Browning, I. N. Arnold to O. H. Browning, O. H. Browning to I. N. Arnold* (Springfield, 1922). Arnold's letter to Browning is in the Chicago Historical Society.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Diary*, II: 351 (July 3, 1873).



LINCOLN'S "JUMP" FROM THE WINDOW

There were four events in the early career of Abraham Lincoln which he probably wished later could be forgotten.—his bitter newspaper controversy with General James Adams in the summer of 1837; the break with Mary Todd on the "fatal first of Jany. '41"; the abortive duel with James Shields in September, 1842; and the jump on December 5, 1840 out of the window of the First Methodist Church in Springfield where the House of Representatives was meeting.

The last was the most casual of the four events and today is the least understood. There have been numerous attempts to place the event in Vandalia (from which the capital had been moved July 4, 1839) and to cast Lincoln in a heroic role.¹

Governor Thomas Carlin called the Twelfth General Assembly to meet in special session in Springfield on November 23, 1840, two weeks before the opening of the regular session, to provide the means to pay the interest on the public debt, due January 1, 1841. The new Statehouse not being ready

¹ Some of the guides at the Vandalia Statehouse (now a state memorial) have at times told visitors this story as if it had happened there, and have pointed to a window of the House chamber *twenty feet from the ground* as the one from which Lincoln is supposed to have jumped. See also versions in *Where the Two Great Highways Cross* (pamphlet distributed in Vandalia); *Lincoln Lore* No. 1376 (Aug. 22, 1955); E. E. Edgar, "Headwork," *Coronet* (Feb., 1953), 34.

for occupancy, the House met in the First Methodist Church on the southeast corner of Fifth and Monroe streets.

Under a law passed at the previous session, the State Bank in Springfield had to resume specie payments at the end of the "next ensuing session" of the General Assembly. The Democrats intended the special session to expire on Saturday, December 5, before the opening of the regular session the following Monday; if they could bring this about, the Bank would have to resume specie payments on December 7, or forfeit its charter and close its doors. The Whigs wanted the special session to run continuously into the regular session without a *sine die* adjournment, thus postponing resumption until the close of the regular session about March 1.

The Whigs, under Lincoln's leadership, had planned to prevent adjournment by the simple expedient of remaining away from the House and preventing the necessary two-thirds (61 of the 90 members) for a quorum. Eighty-six members responded to morning roll calls on December 5, but more than twenty Whigs were absent when the House convened at 3 P.M. Efforts of the sergeant-at-arms to bring them in were unsuccessful, and no quorum was present when evening came on and the candles were lit.

At last several Democrats who had been ill were brought in. Lincoln, Joseph Gillespie of Edwardsville and Asahel Gridley of Bloomington, in attendance to keep an eye on proceedings from the Whig standpoint, had failed to keep count, and all three voted nay on Ebenezer Peck's motion to take up the Senate resolution to adjourn *sine die*, which passed 48-13. Ignoring the fact that this roll call showed a bare quorum present, they voted nay again on House concurrence in the resolution, which passed 46-15. After these two votes against the interests of the Whig Party—and too late to do any good—Lincoln, Gillespie and Gridley stepped out of the window of the church. The House was meeting on the first floor and the window was only four or five feet from the ground.

The legislature held its first session in the new Statehouse (now the Sangamon County Courthouse) the following Monday, December 7, the first day of the regular session. The Bank resumed specie payments the same day.

The Democratic *Illinois State Register* [Springfield] in its next issue (December 11) pictured fantastic horrors in consequence of the Whigs' actions:

CONSPIRACY OF THE FEDERAL MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE
TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE STATE GOVERNMENT.

Both Houses of the Illinois Legislature presented, on Saturday last, a most extraordinary spectacle. We can recollect nothing which bears so striking a resemblance to it, as the scenes at Harrisburg during the Ritner usurpation. In both cases it was an attempt at Revolution—an attempt to destroy the Legislative branch of our Republican system of Government.

Both Houses had, on Saturday evening [morning], passed a joint resolution to adjourn *sine die* at the close of the day's sitting, for the purpose of meeting on Monday morning agreeably to the Constitution which prescribes "the first Monday in December next ensuing the election of members" as a day on which "the General Assembly *shall* meet." Neither resolution had, however, passed *both* Houses during the morning session. In the afternoon they re-assembled at 3 o'clock, but *no quorum* appeared in either House. In the Senate a quorum shortly after appeared, and the Lt. Governor [Stinson H. Anderson] put the question on the resolution from the House to adjourn *sine die*, but *no quorum* voted. Just as the question was put, Mr. [Edward D.] Baker and a few other Whig members withdrew from the Senate, purposely leaving it without a quorum. The door keeper was immediately sent to procure the attendance of absent members, but the members refused to obey the summons, and the Senate was left without a quorum during the remainder of the day.

The House of Representatives met at 3 o'clock. The resolution from the Senate to adjourn *sine die* was taken up, and the vote being taken but 57 members answered to their names, (no quorum) there being but ten Whig members in the House. The door keeper was despatched after the absentees, but returned without a member; those he had seen refusing to obey his summons. This fact was reported to the House by the Speaker, who then read from the Chair the provisions of the Constitution in such cases as follows:

SEC. 7. Art. II.—*Last clause.* "Two-thirds of each House shall constitute a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and *compel* the attendance of absent members."

The doors of the House were locked to prevent the egress of members, and the door keeper was again despatched to "compel" the attendance of the absentees, but he again returned bringing with him only Mr. [William B.] ARCHER of Clark. Sixty-one members were necessary to constitute a quorum, and the House was still *three* short of that number. The door keeper was again despatched for members, but those he saw refused to attend; CYRUS EDWARDS, of Madison, was found by the door keeper in the store of Ninian Edwards, Esq. The door keeper desired him to attend, but Mr. Edwards refused unless the door keeper could show a warrant to compel his attendance. The door keeper (Mr. [William C.] Murphy) then produced his warrant; but Mr. Edwards stepped back, and with his cane under his arm and his right hand upon it, told Mr. Murphy that if he took him, *it would be at his peril!*

By this time it was growing towards night, and the House had remained in session two hours without a quorum. The greatest excitement prevailed. Mr. [Ebenezer] Peck, Mr. [John A.] McClernand, and Mr. [Wickliffe] Kitchell, successively addressed the House, strongly urging upon that body not to give up, until they had put down what, it was now evident to every man, was a deliberate *conspiracy*, formed by the Whig leaders to destroy the deliberations and action of the Legislature. A last attempt was now made to procure a quorum. Finding it vain to obtain the attendance of a Whig absentee, the sick Democratic members were sent for. Mr. [John M.] Kell[e]y, Mr. [Peter] Green, of Clay, and Mr. [John] Dougherty, some of them from their beds, attended the House, and after candle-light 61 members being present (just a quorum) the question was taken on the resolution and PASSED, yeas 46, nays 15.

A laughable circumstance took place while the yeas and nays were being called on the passage of the resolution. Mr. LINCOLN, of Sangamon, who was present during the whole scene, and who appeared to enjoy the embarrassment of the House, suddenly looked very grave after the Speaker announced that a quorum was present. The conspiracy having failed, Mr. Lincoln came under great excitement, and having attempted and failed to get out at the door, very unceremoniously *raised the window and jumped out*, followed by one or two other members. This gymnastic performance of Mr. Lincoln and his flying brethren, did not occur until *after they had voted!* and consequently the House did not interfere with their extraordinary feat. We have not learned whether these *flying* members got hurt in their adventure, and we think it probable that at least *one* of them came off without damage, as it was noticed that his *legs* reached nearly from the window to the ground! By this extraordinary performance on this occasion, Mr.

Lincoln will doubtless become as famous as Mr. Speaker [Charles B.] Penrose at Harrisburg, which redoubted champion jumped out of the window during the late buck shot war in Pennsylvania!

We learn that a resolution will probably be introduced into the House this week to inquire into the expediency of raising the State House *one story higher*, in order to have the House set in the *third story*! so as to prevent members from *jumping out of the windows*! If such a resolution passes, Mr. Lincoln will in future have to *climb down the spout*!

During the whole of the extraordinary scene we have related, we stood inside near the door of the House, and was an eye witness to it. We noticed Mr. Baker, of the Senate, in the House, talking in an under tone to one or two of the few Whig members of the House who remained at their posts. Mr. Baker seemed to be the moving spirit in the conspiracy. Absent himself from where his duty required him to be, it seemed to be his object to persuade others to follow his example. Fallen himself, he would drag others down.

The reader, by this time, is probably anxious to know the *cause* of this revolutionary conduct on the part of the Whig members of the Legislature. The resolution to adjourn *sine die*, and open a new session on Monday, was a proposition in itself quite harmless; but the effect of it would be, as the Whigs supposed, to force the banks to resume specie payments on Monday, as the law of last session authorizes them to suspend only till the close of the next ensuing session of the General Assembly. Thus the object of this attempt on the part of the Whigs, to destroy the action of the Legislative branch of the Government, was to prevent the Banks from resuming specie payments on the opening of the new session on Monday!

To what a humiliating condition are we brought as a people! To serve the Banks, Whig members absent themselves from their places in the Legislature in order to leave both Houses without a constitutional quorum: thus in effect prostrating the Legislature to benefit the Banks. So far as the State Bank is concerned, she had informed the Legislature that she was ready at any moment to resume specie payments; and in fact she did resume, on Monday last, the payment of all her obligations in specie, with the intention, we learn, of permanently doing so. Is it possible that the constituents of these Whig members will justify this attempt to subvert the Legislature? Where will all this end? If members are justified, on *one* pretence, in leaving the General Assembly without a quorum, are they not on any other? And would not the constant repetition of such conduct, virtually destroy the Legislative branch of our Republican Government? The Whig members of our Legislature have incurred a fearful responsibility before the people. If their

conduct is sustained by that people, we may bid farewell to our boasted liberties, for only the *name* of them will remain to us. Destroy the Legislature, and what is left? ANARCHY! which may lead to Monarchy! In the present instance, the Legislature was saved by the firmness of the Democratic members, to whom too much praise cannot be awarded.

H. E. P.

CIVIL WAR HOSPITAL NEWSPAPER

A file of the *Hammond Gazette*, a rare Civil War newspaper published "For the Benefit of the Sick and Wounded in Hammond General Hospital" at Point Lookout, Maryland, has been purchased by Alfred Whital Stern of Chicago, chairman of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, to be added to the Alfred Whital Stern Civil War Collection of the Library.

The *Gazette* was the first military hospital newspaper to be issued during the Civil War, and this file of the first 95 issues (November 17, 1862 to September 7, 1864) is the longest of record.² Most of the issues carried complete lists of the patients at the hospital, of the Medical Corps officers and men in charge, and the locations of government hospitals and Sanitary Commission supply offices. News of the war in the East and West, war poems, short stories, and letters from former patients returned to service made up the bulk of each issue. Puns and humorous stories, including several about President Lincoln, helped fill the columns when the roster of patients dropped from its high of 1,900 to a few hundred. (Since comparatively few Illinois troops served in the East, there were never more than ten Illinoisans at any one time in the hospital.) Advertising was very limited, being confined to steamboats stopping at Point Lookout, a photograph gallery, an oyster saloon, and the newspapers and magazines available at the sutler's.

² Other hospital publications mentioned in the *Gazette* files are: *West Philadelphia Hospital Register*; *Finley Hospital Weekly*, Washington; and *Soldier's Journal*. Camp Distribution, Alexandria, Va.

The hospital is thus described in the first issue:

The Hospital bearing the above name is located at this Point [Lookout], which is at the southern extremity of the western shore of Maryland, in St. Mary's county, and at the junction of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River. ... It is S.S.E. of Washington, in air-line distance about 68 miles, while the route by the river is over 100 miles. ... The Potomac River is here about 8 miles in width. ...

The Hospital grounds extend along the bay shore some 1200 yards, and along the river shore, some 500 yards. A water course ... forms the north-west boundary. The bay shore bends in such a direction that it is nearly parallel with the water course. ... There is thus formed an oblong piece of land ... containing about 60 acres. The northern half ... is covered with a beautiful grove of long-leaf pines. ...

For three seasons ... the Point ... was a favorite watering place and resort for visitors. ... About one hundred and fifty cottages of one and two stories, containing three and four rooms, were erected by Mr. Wm. H. Allen, an architect and builder, of Baltimore, who is a part owner of the place. A large and elegant Hotel ... was also erected by Mr. Allen. The lower floor contains several spacious halls and offices, now occupied as surgical wards, a model Dispensary, a Laboratory, the office of the Surgeon in Charge, store rooms, &c. The upper story contains a great number of fine, airy apartments, now occupied as a large medical ward.

On the Fourth of July last [1862] the Surgeon General [William A. Hammond] ordered Dr. Clinton Wagner, Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A., to proceed to Point Lookout and establish and take charge of a Hospital for one thousand patients. ... The first load of sick and wounded arrived ... on the 20th of the same month. ... Six Assistant and Acting Assistant surgeons ... were soon actively engaged. As the place became filled with successive arrivals, additional medical officers were sent. ... Ere long the wards became crowded and it was found necessary to erect hospital tents. Eighty such were filled ... each tent being occupied by eight patients. At this time there were nearly fifteen hundred sick and wounded soldiers on the Point. ...

Meanwhile Capt. A. Edwards, Quartermaster of the Post, proceeded to erect ... a new Hospital. ... It consists of sixteen separate buildings fronting on a circle ... fifteen ... capable of receiving 70 patients. ... The remaining building ... contains two stories. ... The lower story will be occupied by offices, dispensary, &c., while the upper one will be divided into smaller apartments. ...

The inner circle on which the buildings front ... contains four one story buildings. ... One will be used for a Kitchen, one for a Chapel, one for a

Library and Reading Room, and one for a Guard House and Knapsack Room. ... In the center of the circle ... will be erected a cistern having a capacity of 25,000 gallons, and elevated sufficiently to employ hydrostatic pressure to force water through hose over the Hospital, in case of fire. ... A covered corridor runs around the circle, ... affording easy access at all times between the wards and the other buildings. ...

The present Dining Room ... is capable of seating over 600. ... It is kept in a state of the most thorough neatness. The Laundry, which is built adjoining the Dining room, forming an L, ... will be competent to prepare for use 3000 pieces ... daily.

We have passed through the sickly season of this latitude, and the place has been free from malarious diseases. ... Only one death has taken place in the Hospital for the last 18 days.

The *Gazette* of July 28, 1863 reported that:

The U. S. dispatch Steamer "Ella" arrived here on Sunday morning [July 26], and remained a couple of hours at the wharf. She had on board Mr. Secretary Seward and daughter, Mr. Fred. Seward, and Master Robert Lincoln. The Commander of the Post, Capt. Smith, and several other officers connected with the Point, paid their respects to the party, and were very agreeably entertained. The Secretary sat on the hurricane deck of the steamer, chatting and smoking, and appeared to be enjoying the sea breeze to his hearts content. At ten o'clock they left for Fortress Monroe.

Lincoln's only recorded visit to Point Lookout was reported in the *Gazette* of December 30, 1863:

The President of the United States arrived at the Point on Sunday evening [December 27] in the steamer John Brooks. He left early on Monday morning, much to the chagrin of the "confeds," who expected to enjoy a squint at "Father Abraham."

The *Gazette* of March 17, 1863 included the following "by request":

UNCLE PSALM.

We publish, by request, the following devout production from a devotee in the City of Monuments. That there is considerable human nature in it nobody can deny.

TE ABRAHAM LAUDAMUS.

We praise thee, Oh Abe! We acknowledge thee to be sound on the goose.
All Yankee-land doth worship thee, everlasting old joker.

To thee all office-seekers cry aloud, "Flunkeydom, and all the powers therein."

To thee Stanton and Well[e]s continually do cry, "Bully, bully, bully boy with a glass eye."

Washington and Illinois are full of the majesty of thy glory.

The glorious company of Political Generals praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of Postmasters praise thee.

The noble army of contractors praise thee.

The mighty republican institutions throughout all Columbia do acknowledge thee.

The father of infinite proclamations, thine admirable, true, and only policy.

Also, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, the Comforter.

Thou art the King of Rail-Splitters. O Abe!

Thou art the everlasting son of the late Mr. Lincoln.

When thou tookest upon thee to run for the Presidency and deliver the Union, thou didst humble thyself to stand upon the "Chicago Platform."

When thou didst overcome the sharpness of election, thou didst open the White House kitchen to all believers.

Thou s.ttest at the right hand of "Uncle Sam" in the glory of the Capitol.

We believe that thou shalt not come to be re-elected.

Nevertheless, we pray thee, help thy servants whom thou hast kept from "Jeff Davis" and "Foreign Intervention."

Make us to be remembered with thy favoritities in office everlasting.

O Abe! Save thy people and bless thy parasites! Govern them and increase their salaries forever!

Day by day we puff thee,

And we exalt thy name daily in the daily papers.

Vouchsafe, O Abe! to keep us this day without a change of Generals.

O Abe! have mercy upon the Army of the Potomac!

O Abe! let thy mercy be upon us, as our trust is not in Stanton.

O Abe! for thee have I voted, let me never be drafted.

"UNCLE SAM" SENDS A "PIKE PEARCH"

One of the numerous gifts received by Lincoln between his nomination and election is described in the following letter:

QUINCY ILL. OCT 17, 1860

HON A. LINCOLN

SIR

Please accept the accompanying fish—a Mississippi River Salmon—the finest one caught at this place this season—with the sincere compliments of the undersigned. He confidently believes that the fish which he caught this morning will grace the table of the next President of the United States.

Respectfully

SAMUEL ARTUS³

This letter (including the signature) is in the handwriting of John T. Morton, Adams County Republican leader and former editor of the *Quincy Whig & Republican*, who the day before had written Illinois' Secretary of State Ozias M. Hatch about this same fish:

QUINCY ILL OCT 16. 1860.

HON O M HATCH

DR SIR

Uncle Samuel Artus sends herewith to Mr. Lincoln—a fine Salmon It is the kind of fish called by Frank Forester, the "Pike Pearch" and is regarded as equal to any fish that swims in fresh water not excepting the trout. Uncle Sam as you know is an Enthusiastic Republican and gratifies his political feelings and his personal enthusiasm for Mr Lincoln by sending him this trophy of his skill with the hook & line

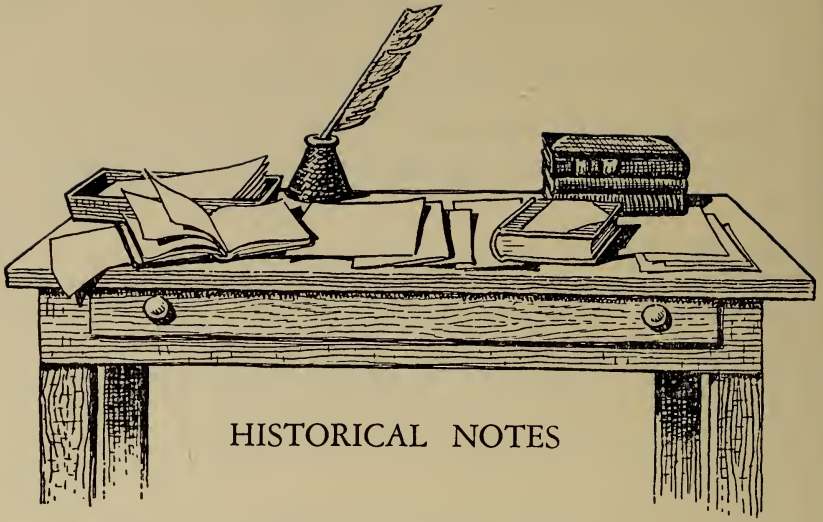
Yours truly

JOHN T. MORTON⁴

No acknowledgment or note of thanks from Lincoln has been found. Hatch visited Quincy on October 23 and may have conveyed Lincoln's oral or written thanks at that time.

³ Lincoln Papers, Lib. of Cong. The *Quincy Whig & Republican* of Oct. 24 carried this item: "BIG FISH.—We have seen some specimens of salmon caught in our Bay, weighing about eight or ten lbs each. They are splendid game to those who can bag them."

⁴ Hatch Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib. "Frank Forester" was the nom-de-plume of Henry William Herbert (1807-1858), the author of many books and articles on fishing, hunting and other outdoor sports.



HISTORICAL NOTES

THE BISHOP HILL COLONISTS IN THE GOLD RUSH

The journal of the Rev. Jonas W. Olson, one of the founders of Bishop Hill colony, describing his trip to the gold fields of California in 1850, was carefully preserved by his granddaughter Mrs. Maud Berrier of Los Angeles, though she was unable to translate it. When I roomed at her home while attending a summer session at the University of Southern California, I was thankful that my parents, both Swedish immigrants, had given me a thorough training in their native language.

In the account of the Bishop Hill colony by Sivert Erdahl in this *Journal* in October, 1925, and in other accounts, the California trip is mentioned but without details. Olson's journal, while very brief, contains some incidents of interest, especially when interpreted in the light of similar expeditions.

Eric Janson, head of the Bishop Hill colony, had been beaten in a financial deal involving the purchase of wheat and wound up as the owner of 10,000 acres more of land about eighteen miles away from the colony. Perhaps the group was in financial distress as a result and this may have been one reason that nine members made the journey to the gold fields.

Traveling 2,512 miles by horse and wagon was no lark. And Olson pleaded with Janson to be allowed to remain at home, but to no avail. He took five companions—Peter Janson, Per Olof, Peter Nelson, ——— Stalberg and Olof Lind—with him to St. Louis to purchase supplies. Three other men—C. G. Blomberson, Sven Nordin and Carl Myrtingren—with a team

and wagon cut across Iowa to meet Olson's group at Fort Kearney. On April 25, 1850 the whole party was reunited there.

As there was no room for the oats they had planned to bring up from St. Louis, they had to trade their extra horse for twenty-three bushels of cracked wheat. Hay, of course, couldn't be hauled on such a trip, so the gold rushers tethered their horses at night. They traveled on the south side of the North Platte River where thousands of others crossed Nebraska that year. On the first day Olson wrote in his diary about the shortage of wood, and was probably too polite to mention the common use of buffalo "chips" by the emigrants. They traveled slowly, twelve to twenty miles a day, and as much as thirty on an unusually good day. After passing Chimney Rock, Fort Laramie and Independence Rock, they trudged on through South Pass. On June 13 they reached Fort Bridger and traded one of their horses for a pony. Horse traders did a lucrative business with emigrants, usually trading one fresh animal for three worn-out ones, which would quickly recuperate and be ready for trade again.

On June 30 the party reached Salt Lake City, having traveled a total distance of 1,099 miles according to Olson's reckoning. It had been a long, tiresome and fearful grind. "About all we had left was coffee and tea," he wrote on that day. "There was a shortage of flour in Salt Lake because it was nearly harvest time. A large number of the emigrants turned their way to Salt Lake City to buy their provisions. Wheat flour cost up to \$1.50 a pound. Those who had enough money and horses, as well as coffee and tea and even dried apples, could soon get what they needed and be on their way again, but for us it was different; we decided that each one of us should look for work so as to provide himself as well as possible."

They started out again after a week in Salt Lake City, thinking the worst was over. They didn't know they were about to have a "peep at the elephant," an expression used to indicate they were in for the hardest trial of their lives. Light sand two to eight inches deep was whipped up by the wind as wagon wheels churned it around. Olson's party, like others, removed the front wheels from their wagons and made carts out of them. Many travelers spoke of seeing six to ten dead horses per mile lying along the way through the desert. One little town was named Ragtown after the debris left by the emigrants.

Olson had insisted all along the way, as a prerogative befitting a preacher of the gospel, that he should ride in the wagon most of the time—though emigrants usually walked to lighten the load. The men now decided that the preacher would have to walk, no matter what the Lord might think of them. Since Olson was not in physical condition to stand this ordeal, he was "boarded out" to another emigrant party for the price of one horse, which

meant that one wagon had to be abandoned. The extra horse was loaned to another Swedish emigrant party in dire straits. Olson reported thirty-foot snow drifts in the Sierras in August.

The party was reunited at Hangtown (now Placerville) on August 12. They were 2,090 miles from Fort Kearney and 2,512 from Bishop Hill, according to Olson's reckoning. He concluded the story of the weary journey, "We were glad to see one another again alive."

The group then divided into three parties for the purpose of prospecting. Olson, Blomberson, Myrtengren and Stalberg turned in \$398.57 worth of gold during October; Janson, Nelson and Lind, \$333.75; Nordin and Olof, who were located in Hangtown Creek where pickings were slim, \$84.55. Olson was the purchasing agent for the entire group, and among the many items such as mackerel, sirup, bacon, ham, potatoes, hard bread, cheese, rice, salt, straw hats, etc., recorded by the preacher there is a pint of brandy every week, which he undoubtedly considered a small concession to the devil.

On August 19 the mail brought some sad news. Olson's daughter Maja Stina and Blomberson's daughter had died back home in Bishop Hill. Then Blomberson died of land scurvy and several others narrowly escaped death after severe illnesses. "Cholera powder" brought from St. Louis was no good as a cure for scurvy. It is ironic that hundreds of people in the California gold fields died for lack of vitamin C, found so plentifully in citrus fruits.

Another letter brought news that Eric Janson had been assassinated on May 13 in a courtroom at Cambridge, Illinois, and Mrs. Janson had taken over the temporal and spiritual affairs of the colony with Anders Berglund as assistant. On reading this Olson felt he should return to Bishop Hill immediately and claim his right of succession as head of the colony. He remembered the agreement made with Janson in Sweden that "Janson, or the heirs of his body, should, as the representatives of Christ, reign to the end of all time." The gold-seekers gave Olson \$200 from the common treasury for his trip back.

The remainder of the diary briefly describes the return trip, across the Isthmus of Panama and up the Mississippi River. It has been said that he took two companions with him, but his journal gives the impression that he was alone. The entries on the return were brief. On November 9, 1850 he bade his companions farewell, probably with a prayer meeting, and started for Sacramento, whence he traveled by steamboat to San Francisco. On November 19 he started for Panama via sailboat (fare \$50) in a storm. For the next thirty-eight days there is little entered in the diary except "poor wind." On December 29 the boat landed at Realejo, and Olson and his fellow passengers engaged horses and mules to cross the Isthmus, at a cost of \$9

each for the 140 miles. On January 11, 1851, he took deck passage for \$40 from San Juan to New Orleans, where he took a river steamer. The diary ends on February 11, with this typically barren entry: "Tuesday in Peoria."

Olson made it back in time. After a short period of strife a commission form of government was set up with Olson as one of seven trustees. He and Olof Johnson soon began to run things to suit themselves. No one was allowed to criticize the leaders, who were chiefly self-appointed. After one of the flock had visited the Shaker cult in Kentucky Olson decreed a return to celibacy. "Conjugal relations," he said, "was evil remnant of the ancient law of Moses and of heathens, and the women could not then do the outdoor work in brick yards, fields, etc." This policy caused much unrest and a number of suicides.

It is impossible to resist the temptation to conclude with an almost story-book ending, for the people back home had figuratively found gold right in their back yards while Olson's party was in California looking for quick riches. Broom corn proved a good cash crop for Bishop Hill, and together with meat packing, coal mining, banking, railroads, brokerage firms and many others in Galva just five miles away, probably created greater wealth than the 60,000 immigrants to Placerville found in the gold fields the entire year of 1851.

Alpena, Michigan

MATT LAGERBERG

FIRST VOLUME OF VERSE ABOUT ILLINOIS

What is thought to be the only extant copy of the first volume of verse ever published about Illinois—an eight-page pamphlet titled *Mount Carmel. A Poem*—was recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. The title page lists the author only as "J— C—" but states that it was printed by John Bailhache in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1818. Bailhache was a friend of the Rev. Thomas S. Hinde, one of the three Methodist ministers who had founded Mt. Carmel, Illinois, the year before. It is reasonable to suppose that the Rev. Mr. Hinde had the poem printed along with other work he is known to have had done about this time.

On the second of these four by seven-inch pages there is an "Advertisement" or preface which says that "The following little Poem was written. . . by a gentleman in London and forwarded by him to a near relation in this town." The Rev. Mr. Hinde and his cofounders were interested in recruiting as many settlers as possible for their new town. In addition to being a minister Hinde was a book collector, banker, land speculator, author and historian, and could have written this ode to the future greatness of Mt. Carmel:

Where forests reared their waving tops on high
 And pines aspired to touch the azure sky:
 Where silence reigned through the dreary gloom,
 And all was hushed as in the vaulted tomb.
 Except, perhaps, at times the Indian yell,
 Or sound of footsteps in the darkling dell,
 Of bears was heard, when growling for their prey,
 Which issue forth by night and shun the day....
 Let Agriculture here improve the field,
 And fruitful harvests to the tiller yield: ...

Let Commerce next unfold her various store
 Conveying it with speed from shore to shore:
 Diffusing what may benefit mankind,
 To serve the body or regale the mind: ...
 What merchants here collect with studious pains,
 The *Mississippi* wafts to *New Orleans*: ...
 If men would cultivate a friendly trade,
 And each to other lend their social aid:
 Thus knowledge would increase, and arts abound,
 The blessed fruits of peace, thro' nations round: ...

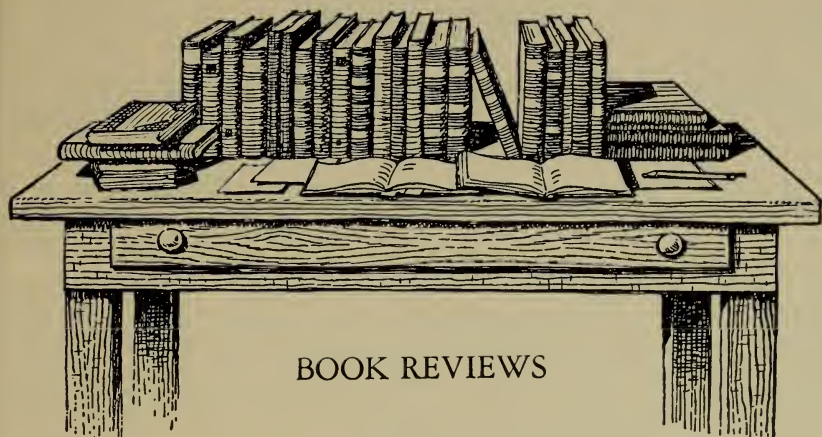
Let Architecture too here lend her aid,
 Constructing domes for pleasure or for trade; ...
 Let symmetry and taste appear in all,
 In private structures, and the public hall,
 Where citizens resort, in calm debate
 To settle and discuss th' affairs of state; ...

Let Churches rise, thro' zealous ardent care,
 Where God is served, in humble fervent pray'r: ...

Let Academick Structures likewise stand,
 As noble proofs of an enlightened land: ...

On Carmel once Elijah took a view,
 (May somewhat of his spirit rest on you!)
 The cloud, arising from the western main,
 Foretold abundance of refreshing rain.
 May your Mount Carmel, like the little hand,
 Diffuse a plenteous show'r throughout the land,
 To fertilize the soil; and may the seed
 Take root in human hearts, and widely spread;
 Producing harvests, each succeeding year,
 Of corn luxuriant in the full-grown ear. ...

John Bailhache, the Chillicothe printer, later migrated to Alton, Illinois, where he was proprietor of the *Telegraph* from 1837 to 1854. One of his sons, William H. Bailhache, moved to Springfield where he became one of the owners of the *Illinois State Journal* and a friend of Abraham Lincoln. Another son, Dr. Preston H. Bailhache, followed his brother to Springfield and formed a partnership with Dr. William S. Wallace, Lincoln's brother-in-law and family physician.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Boy on Lincoln's Lap. By Jerrold Beim. (William Morrow and Company: New York, 1955. Pp. 46. \$2.00.)

Mary Florence: the Little Girl Who Knew Abraham Lincoln. By Kathleen S. Tiffany. (Dodd, Mead & Company: New York, 1955. Pp. 244. \$2.75.)

Jerrold Beim tells for "four to eight-year-olds" about Alan and his two friends who liked to play on the Gutzon Borglum statue of Abraham Lincoln in front of the courthouse in Newark, New Jersey. Danny, a larger boy, liked to push them away. One day Alan saw a picture of the statue in the newspaper, and his father explained who Lincoln was and that the mayor was to place a wreath on the statue on Lincoln's birthday. Alan and his pals cleaned the statue so that it would look nice for the ceremony. Danny then put chalk marks all over it, but the three boys caught him and made him help them clean it up again in time for the laying of the wreath. Then they all had their pictures taken—Alan in Lincoln's lap—as good citizens. This fine story is nicely illustrated by Tracy Sugarman.

It is only in the last dozen pages of Kathleen Tiffany's book that Mary Florence Mills (who was a real person) meets Lincoln when he comes to the cemetery dedication at Gettysburg. But the descriptions of school, play, the Jeb Stuart raid of 1862 and the prelude and aftermath of the battle of Gettysburg will make the entire volume interesting reading for the "girls from 8 to 12" for whom it is primarily written. The book—cleverly illustrated by Victor Dowling—won honorable mention in the Dodd, Mead Librarian Competition.

H. E. P.

Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, Black Hawk: an Autobiography. Edited by Donald Jackson. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1955. Pp. 206. \$3.75.)

Jefferson Davis: American Patriot 1808-1861. By Hudson Strode. (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1955. Pp. xx, 460. \$6.75.)

This is the tenth edition of the *Autobiography* of Black Hawk, the celebrated Sac brave, since it first appeared in 1833. Donald Jackson, editor of the University of Illinois Press, has provided annotations and a lucid introduction including a discussion of the original edition, a brief resumé of the Black Hawk War, and a fascinating description of Black Hawk's 1833 tour of the East on which little has been written.

Despite occasional and minor chronological errors, Black Hawk was generally more accurate than his critics. He was inclined to boast of his successes and minimize his losses, but his autobiography as dictated to Antoine Le Claire remains an authentic historical document.

In the preparation of his notes and introduction the editor has used original sources; he has, however, sometimes failed to evaluate them. He presents Major General Alexander Macomb's official report as a summary of the war, admitting that it contains misstatements of facts and distorted and face-saving accounts of many episodes, but failing to point any of them out specifically.

Although Governors Thomas Ford and Joseph Duncan served in the 1831 campaign against Black Hawk, neither was in the more important campaign of 1832, as Jackson implies (p. 20). The *volunteer*, not the *regular*, force in service from the last of June totaled about 3,000 men (n. 101, p. 148). Of the approximately 600 regulars on the Illinois-Wisconsin frontier at the time about 400 actually marched with General Atkinson; the remainder were stationed at various frontier posts.

On the attractive and easily read map of the Black Hawk country serving as end papers, the settlements and battles are given merely approximate locations. Ottawa and Fort Deposit were located on the south side of the Illinois River in 1832, instead of the north side as the map shows. Kellogg's Grove was considerably northeast of its location on the map; Fort Hamilton was between the forks of the Pecatonica instead of east of the east fork; and Stillman's battle took place below the mouth of the Kishwaukee River instead of in the forks of that stream. Fort Edwards had been abandoned in 1824.

The volume is attractive, in an appealing format, with many excellent and seldom reproduced illustrations. The index is good. The book should have a wide appeal.

One chapter of Strode's biography of Jefferson Davis relates directly to Illinois history. Unfortunately his account of Davis' alleged participation in the Black Hawk War is based on unreliable sources. His attempts to weave into his engagingly written narrative of the war anecdotes about Davis, Abraham Lincoln, Zachary Taylor, and Illinois pioneer John Dixon perpetuate legends already disproved.

P. L. Scanlan's well documented account of Davis' military record during this period was published in the December, 1940 *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. His research, corroborated by documents in the Black Hawk War Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, indicates that Davis had only one contact with Black Hawk in 1832—in September, a month after the last battle of the military campaign, when he was placed in charge of the guard assigned to accompany Black Hawk and other prisoners of war down the Mississippi from Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin to St. Louis.

Strode accepts Frank E. Stevens' account in *The Black Hawk War* that Davis helped to organize the Jo Daviess County volunteers. Knowing that Davis was on furlough in Mississippi at the time given by Stevens (May, 1832), Strode has placed this episode in 1831. The original sources prove that it could never have occurred.

H. E. P. and E. M. W.

Land of Their Choice: The Immigrants Write Home. Edited by Theodore C. Blegen. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1955. Pp. xix, 463. \$5.75.)

This is a collection of 203 "America-letters"—written by Norwegian immigrants in America to their relatives in Norway. All have been translated into smooth, idiomatic English which never intrudes between the writer and the reader. Dr. Blegen has made most of the translations and revised the rest, and supplied an illuminating ten-page foreword, a preliminary chapter, brief introductions to each of the eighteen sections into which the letters are divided, and an excellent index.

The letters abound in the homely details which formed so large a part of their everyday lives, and from which the recipients in the motherland could draw comparisons between the Old World and the New. The Sioux uprising in Minnesota is described by its victims; slavery, the homestead law and the Civil War enter the narrative, but only incidentally. Sixteen of the letters were written from Illinois, but conditions were undoubtedly similar to those in neighboring states. This book is recommended reading for Midwesterners because of its vivid impressions of life between 1825 and 1870.

J. N. A.

History of Medical Practice in Illinois. Volume II: 1850-1900. Edited by David J. Davis. (Illinois State Medical Society: Chicago, 1955. Pp. xviii, 530. \$10.)

The first volume of this series, compiled and arranged by Lucius H. Zeuch and published by the Illinois State Medical Society in 1927, dealt with the years preceding 1850. Volume II, covering the half-century from 1850 to 1900, is a memorial to the late Dr. David J. Davis, permanent historian of the Society, who arranged and edited it and died suddenly on December 19, 1954, just as galley proofs were being received.

This volume is the product of thirty-three contributors or collaborators, most of them doctors. It is written primarily as a reference work for the medical profession and contains much biographical material. "The reading and writing public," however, will find much of the information of value and interest, such as the chapters "The Hardy Pioneer" by Paul M. Angle and "The General Practitioner: His Preparation, Environment and Experiences" by Dr. Tom Kirkwood of Lawrenceville.

The "History of the Anatomy Laws in Illinois during the 19th Century" by Dr. Otto F. Kampmeier will explain why millionaire George M. Pullman at his death in 1897, in order to be secure against the prevalent practice of grave-robbing, left instructions for his burial which would preclude any possibility of his body being disturbed. In 1901 Robert Todd Lincoln, then president of the Pullman Company, requested the State of Illinois, in reintering the body of President Abraham Lincoln, to "Bury him now and for all time exactly the way Mr. Pullman was buried in Chicago."

S. A. W.

Ohio's Western Reserve: The Story of Its Place Names. By David Lindsey. (Western Reserve Historical Society: Cleveland, 1955. Pp. 111. \$1.50.)

This book gives briefly the origin of the names of all the counties, townships and inhabited places in Ohio's Western Reserve. It is well written and a model of its kind. Publications of this nature have recently appeared in several other states, and work has been begun on such a list for Illinois.

J. N. A.

CENTENNIAL PUBLICATIONS

All twenty-five Illinois cities and towns which celebrated their centennials in 1955 issued centennial booklets, special newspaper editions, or both. The Historical Society is very appreciative of the co-operation extended

by newspaper publishers, municipal officials, members of centennial committees, and particularly by the Society's own members in the various localities who sent material.

ALEDO: The *Aledo Times-Record's* 104-page centennial edition of June 22 is remarkable for the fullness and accuracy of its information about Aledo and Mercer County.

ARCOLA: The forty-eight page (6 by 8½ inch) souvenir booklet *Arcola Centennial Homecoming* contains eight pages of general history and 22 pages on churches, schools, the library and the centennial program. Illustrations cover both the past and the present. The *Arcola Record-Herald* published centennial material on July 7 and 14, and the celebration was covered by Champaign and Decatur papers.

BEMENT: The *Bement Register* published a centennial edition on June 9.

BROOKPORT: The *Brookport Independent* published centennial material in its issues of May 19 and 26 and June 2.

CAMP POINT: The *Camp Point Journal's* 32-page centennial edition of June 30 and the 80-page (8 by 11 inch) program published by the centennial committee covered the Camp Point area, including Coatsburg and La Prairie as well as Camp Point itself.

CERRDO GORDO: About 40 pages of *Cerro Gordo Centennial*, a paper-covered (8 by 11 inch) 150-page book, are devoted to family histories, with some 30 pages about Cerro Gordo and its institutions. La Place is given several pages and other nearby towns also receive brief mention. The numerous illustrations add much to the value of the publication.

CLAY CITY: *Clay City 100 Years*, the town's (8 by 11 inch) 52-page centennial booklet, contains five pages of general history, material on civic and religious organizations, and a picture section of fifteen pages.

ELKHART: *The Village of Elkhart City*, the 60-page (8 by 11 inch) paper-backed booklet published by the centennial committee, contains a brief history of the town and its civic, religious and fraternal organizations; an article on Elkhart's association with Abraham Lincoln, another on Governor Richard J. Oglesby, and brief biographical sketches of about fifty Elkhart citizens including Captain A. H. Bogardus, world champion wing shot, and cattle king John D. Gillett. The booklet is well illustrated.

- FRANKFORT: Chairman Burton Breidert and his historical program committee compiled an interesting (8½ by 11 inch) 96-page paper-backed booklet entitled *1855-1955 Frankfort Centennial*. Outstanding is the 12-page "Story of Frankfort," illustrated with photographs or drawings of early scenes compared with present-day pictures. The other pages are devoted to various organizations of the village and to advertising.
- GAYS: The *Windsor Gazette* published an eight-page special issue on October 27 honoring the Gays celebration.
- GILMAN: *Gilman Centennial, The First Hundred Years, 1855-1955* is a 24-page (5½ by 8½ inch) paper-backed illustrated pamphlet without advertising. Three pages are devoted to the development of the business district, four to churches, two to schools, five to governmental units, and nine to the town's 21 civic and fraternal organizations. The *Gilman Star* published a 24-page centennial edition on August 11.
- GIRARD: The 34-page (6 by 8½ inch) paper-backed *History of Girard, Illinois, "From Then 'Til Now," 1855-1955* includes an unusual amount of material, as each page contains about 700 words. A dozen pictures occupy four pages at the front. There is no advertising. The *Girard Gazette* carried a number of short historical articles in its June 16 and 23 editions, plus "Our Album," a 24-page supplement containing 91 pictures, many cleverly worked into advertisements.
- GRAYVILLE: "On the Banks of the Wabash," a well illustrated historical sketch filling 22 of the 80 pages of *Grayville thru the Years*, a handsome (8½ by 11 inch) centennial booklet, brings the story up to the 1954 Oil Show. There is additional material on churches and civic and fraternal organizations. The *Grayville Mercury-Independent* climaxed a summer-long historical coverage with an informative 22-page centennial edition on September 1.
- HOMER: The *Homer Enterprise* published a six-page centennial edition on May 27. Campaign papers also covered the celebration.
- LEXINGTON: The *Lexington Unit-Journal* crammed a surprising quantity of information into its ten-page centennial edition on July 7.
- MATTESON: The 42-page (8½ by 11 inch) centennial booklet *Matteson Pow Wow to Know How* contains an informative eight-page history of the town illustrated with a dozen large and well identified photographs. The rest of the booklet is devoted to advertising.

MATTOON: *Mr. Mattoon's City*, a revision of a work by Alexander Summers, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, originally issued in 1946, is a well-illustrated 32-page (6 by 9 inch) booklet with a name index. Ten pages are devoted to the history of The National Bank of Mattoon, which sponsored the publication. Mr. Summers also supplied the text to an outstanding series of sketches published once a week in the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, illustrated by drawings by Bill Waller made from original photographs of Mattoon scenes, which were later republished under one cover. The *Journal-Gazette's* 160-page centennial edition, published on September 1, contained as much history as a full-length book. Most of this material was gathered by members of the Mattoon Historical Society.

MORRISON: The *Whiteside Sentinel's* 40-page centennial edition of May 28 was filled with informative text and pictures of Whiteside County and of the city.

NEPONSET: *Neponset's One Hundred Years* is an unusually competent history for a town of five hundred people. Its 52 (6 by 9 inch) pages are divided into ten chapters and enhanced by a dozen photographs. The *Kewanee Star-Courier* issued a special eight-page Neponset centennial section on August 3.

NEW BADEN: The 72-page booklet *New Baden Centennial 1855-1955* contains much historical data both in words and pictures. One unusual article locates every building in the town some sixty years ago.

PALATINE: Paddock Publications, Inc., publishers of the *Palatine Enterprise* and of the 116-page (8 by 11 inch) hard-cover *Palatine Centennial Book* sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, divided their treatment of Palatine's history so that facets covered either in the book or in the 56-page *Enterprise* centennial edition published on July 7 would not be duplicated in the other. Twenty pages of photographs complement the unusually complete and well-written textual presentation of the community's first century. The 40 pages of advertising give historical information about the firms instead of being written in the usual advertising style. These publications and the celebration led to the organization of the Palatine Historical Society.

PALMYRA: The *Palmyra Transcript* published a 20-page centennial edition on July 21.

RUTLAND: The long defunct *Rutland Record* was revived for a single 20-page centennial issue on August 4. Much historical information from the *Record's* files was well organized into the articles. The *Toluca Star-Herald's* eight-page issue of the same date was filled largely with material on the Rutland centennial.

SPARLAND: The *Sparland Beacon*, "published every century on the century," issued a 16-page "Vol. 1, No. 1" centennial edition with much historical material on July 21. Sparland has no regularly published newspaper, but the *Lacon Home Journal* across the Illinois River helped to publicize the celebration. This celebration and Rutland's were largely responsible for the organization of the Marshall County Historical Society.

TRENTON: *Trenton Centennial*, a 60-page (6 by 9 inch) paper-backed booklet, contains 18 pages of general history, 14 on civic and fraternal organizations, seven on churches and two on schools. A business and industrial section takes the place of advertising. One wishes that the 22 photographs were better identified. Centennial material also appeared in the *Trenton Sun* of June 23 and 30 and July 7.

COMMEMORATIVE PUBLICATIONS

Isabelle S. Purnell's *Mahomet Methodist Church Centennial 1955* is more than its name implies. In addition to a well-illustrated thirty-four-page history of the hundred-year-old church this publication includes fifty-eight pages on the history of the 125-year-old town of Mahomet, including several explanations of its name and brief articles on its other churches, civic and fraternal organizations and business houses.

On June 20 the *Macomb Daily Journal* issued a special edition commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of its predecessor the *Macomb Enterprise*. Its twenty-two pages are crammed with facts relating not only to the newspapers of Macomb but to all facets of the city's growth and development.

The ten centennial editions (each covering a decade) of the *Davenport* (Iowa) *Democrat*, October 4 through 15, contain much valuable material on Rock Island and surrounding counties in Illinois. Together the ten issues contain 570 pages—the most ambitious centennial newspaper publication project undertaken in the Midwest.

On August 30 the *Wheaton Daily Journal*, Du Page County's only daily, published a 96-page special edition devoted to the past and present of Du Page County.

The *Chicago Defender*, the largest Negro newspaper of the United States, as one of several special events during its semi-centennial year published on August 6 a 108-page Anniversary Edition, which will be a standard reference work for those interested in Negro progress, particularly in Chicago.

The *Citizens' Tribune* of Springfield published an 80-page Twentieth Anniversary Edition on October 6. Besides a history of the *Tribune* and information about other Springfield papers, this edition contains much material on various aspects of the capital's history.

The Historical Library now has almost 150 centennial and other special editions of newspapers and hundreds of commemorative book-type publications.

PICTORIAL COUNTY HISTORIES

A new series of county histories—the first covering all 102 counties of Illinois in the same format—is now being published by the Loree Company of Chicago. The bulk of the books consists of aerial photographs taken by the company's six photographer-pilots, covering every farm in the county, each town and numerous prominent buildings. The photographs are alphabetically arranged—in some cases for the county as a whole and in others for each township. Short introductory histories of each county and brief descriptions of each township and community have been written by John Drury, author of ten books including *Old Illinois Houses (Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, Volume 51)*. County and township maps are reproduced from the master maps of the Division of Highways.

The company plans eventually to issue such a book for each of the more than 3,000 counties in the United States. To finish the work on Illinois will require about two years. The volumes covering Adams, Brown, Bureau, Cass, Champaign, DeWitt, Fulton, Hancock, Henry, Iroquois, Knox, Logan, McDonough, Macon, Mason, Menard, Piatt, Pike, Schuyler, Stark, Tazewell and Vermilion counties have been issued thus far. As the series has progressed the editing has greatly improved and much additional information has been included. The volumes are 8 by 11 inches in size, printed in offset lithography, and range from 200 to 800 pages.



FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

John W. Allen of Carbondale, author of many historical articles distributed to southern Illinois newspapers through the information service of Southern Illinois University and lately named Historian of the Year by the Southern Illinois Historical Society, was elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society at its fifty-sixth annual meeting in Galena October 7-8, 1955.

Harold G. Baker, East St. Louis, was chosen senior vice-president. Virginia R. Carroll, Galena; David V. Felts, Decatur; Ralph E. Francis, Kankakee; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton; William A. Pitkin, Carbondale; and Alexander Summers, Mattoon, were elected vice-presidents. State Historian Harry E. Pratt was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Ray A. Billington, Evanston; Philip L. Keister, Freeport; Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., Moline; Clarence P. McClelland, Jacksonville; and John G. Oien, Chicago, were elected directors for a three-year term. The business meeting was held in the circuit courtroom of the Jo Daviess County courthouse (erected 1839-1844).

The meeting began on Friday morning with a historical workshop session. Mrs. Harry L. Heer, president of the Galena Historical Museum and Community Center Association, and Mrs. Doris P. Leonard of Princeton, secretary of the Bureau County Historical Society, spoke on the museums sponsored by their organizations. George A. Pownall, successor to Elwin W. Sigmund as director of the Junior Historian program, gave a resumé of his work. Open discussion followed.

Attorney Louis A. Nack presided at the Friday luncheon in the Community Hall of the Museum Building. The invocation was given by the Rev. David Taylor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Claude O.

Dale, superintendent of the Eagle-Picher Mining Company, discussed lead and zinc mining in the Galena region and distributed samples of lead and zinc ore. Virginia Carroll spoke on the history of the Galena volunteer fire department.

President Arthur Bestor of the Society presided at the Friday dinner. The Rev. M. L. Sullins of London Mills, former director of the Society, gave the invocation. Ronald Buening sang a group of songs. An interesting and informative illustrated lecture on "Galena, a Port of Call," was given by Cyrus E. Palmer, associate dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Illinois and a collector of material on river navigation.

The Rev. John A. Hodgson of the First Presbyterian Church gave an illustrated talk on "Historic Galena Houses" on Saturday morning at the Stanley Theater. He also pronounced the invocation at the luncheon that noon at which newly elected President Allen presided. Elmer Gertz, Chicago attorney and member of the Civil War Round Table, spoke on "Galena's Other Generals."

The program at the Saturday dinner, also presided over by President Allen, was in charge of the Chicago Civil War Round Table. E. B. Long, Round Table president, was moderator, and the other participants were State Historian Harry E. Pratt; Dr. John Fleming of the American People's Encyclopedia; and Clyde C. Walton, reference librarian of the University of Iowa and editor of *Civil War History* magazine, all members of the Round Table. Keith S. Clark of the Ottawa High School faculty played and sang some of his original ballads about the Civil War.

Historical tours of Galena—on foot through the downtown district and by bus through the other parts of the multi-level city—were made on both days. Among the sites visited were: the old Market House, built in 1846, restored by the State and rededicated September 24; the Grant Home, now a state memorial; the Grant & Perkins Leather Goods Store, a replica of the one where Grant was employed just before the Civil War; the office of the *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, founded in 1834 and the second oldest paper in the state in continuous publication; the G.A.R. Hall (one of the five still in existence in Illinois) in the old Custom House; the Galena Historical Museum; the Rock House (Dowling House), the oldest extant building in Galena, as guests of architect and Mrs. W. F. McCaughey, where costumed hostesses narrated the history of the home; old churches, including the First Presbyterian, whose building is the oldest church building in Illinois in continuous service (117 years); and the Public Library, where a special Civil War exhibit was on display. Many of the downtown stores held over their window dis-

plays, set up for the Tour of Historic Galena Homes two weeks before, so that the Society might also get the benefit of them.

Miss Virginia R. Carroll, vice-president of the Society, was general chairman, assisted by the directors of the Galena Historical Museum and Community Center Association. Headquarters were in the Hotel DeSoto, itself celebrating its centennial (see this *Journal*, Autumn 1954, pages 315-21). Over two hundred persons were in attendance. An unusual feature was a party for the children of members, held Saturday afternoon in the kindergarten room of the Library and supervised by Mary Alice Cox.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Secretaries and program chairmen of local historical societies are urged to send reports of their groups' activities to the Illinois State Historical Society for publication in this Journal.

The Alton Area Historical Society, with Mrs. Harry L. Meyer as program chairman, began its 1955 activities on January 9. Donald F. Lewis of Bethalto, president of the Madison County Historical Society, described a visit to the United Nations Building in New York and to historic shrines in the East.

Mesdames Clarence E. Sargent, Frank L. Stobbs and Guy Helmick participated in a February 12 program on "George and Martha Washington."

The history of theaters in Alton was the subject of talks by Mrs. Harry Meyer and Mrs. Ed. Groshong on March 13.

On April 17 Mrs. Meyer and Mrs. Anna Kranz read papers on historic spots in Jacksonville.

The members of the Society were guests on May 1 of the Madison County Historical Society at the latter's spring meeting at Troy. On May 8 the Society visited Upper Alton and City cemeteries after hearing a paper on them, written by Guy Helmick and read by President John F. Lemp.

A film on the history of the Owens-Illinois Glass Company was shown on June 12, and Cooper White, employment manager of the company's Alton plant, gave a talk.

Members of the Society were special guests at the dedication on September 11 of a commemorative tablet honoring President James Madison and the naming of Madison County.

Papers on modes of transportation from oxcart to helicopter were read on October 9 by Mrs. William Gabriel, Mrs. Frank L. Stobbs and

George Ritcher. Mrs. Horace Ash arranged a display depicting early transportation.

On November 13 papers about pioneer homes, amusements and activities, and foods were read by John Stobbs, John F. Lemp, Mrs. Eric Rhode, Mrs. George Ritcher, Joan Gabriel, Mrs. William Gabriel, Mrs. Roy Stolp, Mrs. Frank L. Stobbs and Donald F. Lewis. Mrs. John F. Lemp was chairman of the program. At this meeting the Society's officers were re-elected for another year: John F. Lemp, president; Clarence E. Sargent, vice-president; Margaretha Zeltman, secretary; and Margaret Hall, treasurer.

On December 11 Mrs. Meyer gave a history of Currier and Ives, followed by a display of old-time Christmas cards and Madonnas featuring Currier and Ives prints. Mrs. Frank L. Stobbs spoke on "Christmas through the Ages."

President L. Ralph Mead of the Aurora Historical Society announces that *Aurora—City of Bridges*, the third volume of the Society's publications, will be issued in the near future. The text, covering the period 1857-1875, is by Robert Barclay of the *Aurora Beacon-News*, with illustrations collected and restored by photographer Vernon Derry.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt addressed the Bond County Historical Society at its first regular meeting, held on October 11 at Greenville, on the various phases of organizing a local historical society. John H. Nowlan was honored by a rising vote of thanks for his services as founder and president of the Society.

The Boone County Historical Society met on November 30 in the courthouse at Belvidere. The meeting was devoted to a study of historical photographs owned by those in attendance. Grace Wolfram, Lincoln School teacher, described a historical scrapbook project being carried out by her pupils.

Officers of the Society elected at this meeting are: Fred Lewis, president; Perry Bennett, Fred Bounds and Albert Wheeler, vice-presidents; Nelva Dean, secretary; Willis Griffeth, treasurer; Roy Countryman, Frank Garrison, Fred Marean, T. H. O'Donnell and Evelyn Rasmussen, trustees.

In connection with the Bureau County centennial fair last summer the Bureau County Historical Society had a booth with a historical display

on the fairgrounds, and entered a horse-drawn surrey, with occupants in old-fashioned costume, in the parade. Other summer activities of the Society included a showing of the films of the 1928 Bureau County centennial at the Apollo Theater in Princeton and the sponsorship of Stuart Struever's program "Indians of the Illinois Valley" at the Bureau County Fairgrounds on August 22.

Officers of the Society elected at the annual meeting in June are: Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. Allie Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, secretary; and Duncan L. Bryant, treasurer.

The new officers of the Cairo Historical Society—Mrs. James S. Johnson, president; Virginia Herbert and W. B. Stone, vice-presidents; Mrs. Charles E. Dille, Jr., secretary; and Mrs. Joe Berbling, Jr., treasurer—were installed July 14 at the regular board meeting in the Society's home, Magnolia Manor. Mr. and Mrs. Lyle Ervin of Royalton are now caretakers of the Manor. Many additions to the collections have been placed on display, some as gifts and others as loans.

The chair built specially for "Long John" Wentworth's use in church has been accepted for exhibition at the Chicago Historical Society as part of its 1956 centennial observance. The Society's December feature exhibit was a group of century-old dolls in appropriate costume.

Officers of the Society are: Hermon Dunlap Smith, president; Andrew McNally III and Theodore Tieken, vice-presidents; Paul M. Angle, secretary and director; Garfield King, treasurer. These officers together with Cyrus Adams III, William McCormick Blair, Alfred Cowles, James R. Getz, Thomas R. Gowenlock, Willard L. King, Thomas L. Marshall, Mrs. C. Phillip Miller, Sterling Morton, Gilbert H. Scribner, Jr., Alfred Shaw and Mrs. Philip K. Wrigley serve as trustees.

Municipal Judge George B. Weiss addressed the annual meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society (Chicago) on October 6 on "Reminiscences of My Life in Lawndale-Crawford." He was introduced by the Society's president, Peter B. Ritzma. Orville J. Parkhurst was program chairman, and the girls' chorus of McCormick School and the Whitney Parent-Teachers' Association furnished the music. The meeting was held in the Toman Branch Library, and the Society's collections housed in the Library were on display.

At the annual meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) on December 7 Raymond S. Knapp, planning engineer of the Chicago Park District, spoke on "Chicago's West Side Parks." The meeting, held at the Henry E. Legler Regional Branch Library, also included music by the Farragut High School String Trio, Kodachrome slides, exhibits of historical photographs, and refreshments.

Officers of the Society are: Pearl I. Field, honorary life president; Helen S. Babcock, honorary president; George F. Cassell, president; Marguerite C. McBride, Tom Connery, John F. Butler and William Cohn, vice-presidents; Mrs. Ann Serdiuk, secretary-historian; and Mrs. Lillian Vitous, treasurer.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) presented its fall program at the Woodlawn Regional Branch Library on October 14. Leo Mayer spoke on "From Horsecar to Trolley Bus."

Officers of the Society are: Henry Vernon Slater, president; Bernadine McLaughlin, vice-president; Mrs. P. A. Gray, recording secretary; Waunetah Manly, corresponding secretary; and Myrtle Moulton, treasurer.

The Crawford County Historical Society is working toward the reconstruction of old Fort La Motte. The land has already been donated and timber assured. Mrs. H. M. Gaddis of Palestine is in charge of securing finances to complete the work. A museum in the Pat Patterson store in Palestine is to be opened soon. The Rev. Don Tegarden is president of the Society.

"As You Were, or One Hundred Years of Town and Gown" was presented by the Evanston Historical Society in the Woman's Club auditorium November 16. This historical-fashion pageant was directed by Mrs. W. W. McIlwaine, former Evanstonian now associated with the Threshold Players of Glencoe. Mrs. Edward Kirchberg was narrator and Mrs. Thomas Cranage accompanist. A souvenir program was prepared under the direction of Edson Brock, and many other officers and members of the Society participated in the preparation and production of the pageant.

The Society's new home at 1735 Railroad Avenue is open to the public daily (except Friday) from 1 to 5 P.M., and also Saturday mornings. John D. Emery is president of the Society.

Charles Norton Owen of Glencoe addressed the Geneva Historical Society at its meeting in the Geneva Public Library on December 4. He read excerpts from the Civil War letters of Christopher Keller, member of a Kane County company, and exhibited items from his collection of Civil War letters, including some by Lincoln and the better-known generals.

Ernest E. East of the Illinois State Archives, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, addressed the Jefferson County Historical Society on October 24 on "The Humor of Abraham Lincoln." The dinner meeting was held in Faith Lutheran Church, Mt. Vernon.

The Kankakee County Historical Society is continuing its publication of short historical vignettes in the *Kankakee Daily Journal*.

The Lake County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Lake Forest Academy on December 13. Louis Ellsworth Laflin, Jr., of Lake Forest, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in Illinois and treasurer of the Society of Midland Authors, described the movements of the Pilgrims in Europe before they embarked on the *Mayflower*.

All officers were re-elected: James R. Getz, president; Richard W. Hantke, Mrs. Bess T. Dunn and John W. Shaw, vice-presidents; Edward Arpee, secretary; and M. D. Morehouse, treasurer. Larry Crawford, Winston Elting and Ray T. Nicholas were elected directors.

New officers of the La Salle County Historical Society elected at the Society's October 9 meeting in Mendota are: Dorothy Bieneman, president; John W. Graham, vice-president; Mrs. Fred Sauer, recording secretary; Ruth Karger, corresponding secretary; and John Dubbs, treasurer. Mrs. Edgar Cook, Mrs. Harry Cook, Nathan Fleming, Mrs. Clinton Gardner and John Dubbs were elected to the board for three-year terms. Reports were given by Ray C. Hawley, retiring president, and Mrs. Henry Uhlenhop, retiring treasurer.

Mr. Hawley, La Salle County superintendent of schools, spoke on "Some Phases of Early La Salle County School History." A tape recording on the same subject was played on which W. R. Foster, now 92 years of age and county superintendent for over 30 years, was interviewed by C. C. Tisler, of the *Ottawa Republican-Times* and a former director of the Illinois State Historical Society. Horace Hickok was program chairman.

The Society's 1956 programs will be held on the second Sundays of February, July and October, and the third Sunday of May.

The McLean County Historical Society, under the leadership of President Wayne C. Townley, is planning a celebration on May 29, 1956 of the first Republican state convention in Illinois, at which Abraham Lincoln made his famous "lost speech." Prominent speakers have been invited.

Members of the Madison County Historical Society were special guests at the dedication of a tablet commemorating James Madison and the naming of the county on September 11.

At a meeting held in the Madison County museum in the courthouse in Edwardsville following the ceremonies the following officers were elected: Donald F. Lewis, president; Dr. Howard W. Trovillion and Mary Harnsberger, vice-presidents; Jessie E. Springer, secretary; and Mrs. E. C. Meyer, treasurer. E. C. Smith, C. E. Townsend and Dr. Trovillion were named to the board of directors, to serve with holdovers Ella J. Tunnell, Harvey E. Dorsey, Irving Dilliard and E. W. Ellis. W. L. Waters of Godfrey, retiring from the board after many years of service, was made director emeritus. Charles H. Dorris of Collinsville was made director emeritus two years ago. A directed tour of the Society's exhibits in the courthouse followed the election.

At the Society's October 31 meeting Belmont Roscoe showed pictures of early Edwardsville and Mrs. Roscoe described the costumes and other features.

The first meeting of the new Marshall County Historical Society is scheduled to be held at Lacon on January 19, 1956, the 117th anniversary of the creation of Marshall County. The committee which has been doing the preliminary work consists of T. Val Wenk, chairman; Donald Breen, Eleanor Bussell, Mrs. George Hacker, Louis Lenz, O. B. Pace, Jr., Charles Piper, Jessie Ramsey, Gerry D. Scott, C. W. Swanson and Maud Uschold.

Officers and directors of the Mattoon Historical Society on October 28 elected Paul A. Kizer president, Mrs. J. H. Glover vice-president and Mrs. Virgil Dodson secretary-treasurer for 1955-1956. The Society played an active role in the recent celebration of Mattoon's centennial.

The Mercer County Historical Society has acquired a lot on South Maple Street, Aledo, near Fenton Park, for its new building. Its officers hope that construction can be started early in 1956. A T-shaped building 120 by 240 feet, with main floor and basement, is planned.

The Nauvoo Historical Society met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin A. Ettinger on October 18. Mrs. Chauncey Brant, president, presided and Mrs. Edna Griffith was in charge of the program.

The 170 pupils of the Nauvoo Public School went through the Society's museum November 1 and 2. Among the new exhibits is a pair of andirons presented by Victor Pierrot of Burlington, grandson of the original owner who was a member of the Nauvoo Icarian colony.

The Oak Park Historical Society and the Friends of the Library held a joint meeting on October 27. The program honored the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the South Branch Library, at which the meeting was held. Margaret E. Phelan, its first librarian, was guest of honor. Village President J. Russell Christianson and Library Board President Edmund Luff spoke briefly. Historical materials donated by the family of the late J. C. Miller were accepted by the Society and exhibited at the meeting.

Members of the Ogle County Historical Society from Polo were hosts when the Society met in the Polo Town Hall on August 31. Mrs. C. Avery Jones spoke on "Antique Furniture of Ogle County" and John Lounsberry on "Antique Guns."

The Society met on November 21 in the Mt. Morris Town Hall. Frank Osborn, president emeritus of the Rockford Archaeological Society, spoke on "Indian Lore of Ogle County." Mrs. Arthur Beebe holds over as president and Mrs. H. B. Walker as vice-president. Mrs. Robert Maxson was elected corresponding secretary; Annabelle McGrath, recording secretary; and Mrs. Viola Finley, treasurer. Pearl Eddy, Ada May, Luce Meeker, Nettie Oakes, Morris Roe and Jean Van Briesen were elected directors to serve with Maud Canfield, George Etnyre, Jr., Willard Jones, C. C. Parks, Russell Poole and Everett Webster, whose terms have not yet expired. The Society is conducting a membership drive with a goal of 1,200 by January 31.

The Palatine Historical Society was organized October 31 as an outgrowth of interest in Palatine's centennial in July. On December 5

in the public library a constitution and by-laws were adopted and the following officers elected: Avery Wolfrum, president; Elmer Stuart and Mrs. George Howes, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank Wiley, secretary; Mrs. Irene Wilson, treasurer; Mrs. N. L. Thompson, custodian. A drive is now on for members and for equipment to house the historical documents which members of pioneer families are ready to turn over to the Society when their safety and preservation can be assured.

The new officers of the Peoria Historical Society elected at the annual dinner last spring took office at the October meeting held in the Lincoln Room of the Bradley University Library. They are: Raymond N. Brons, president; Dr. Louis A. R. Yates, vice-president; Gerald T. Kelsch, secretary; G. R. Barnett, treasurer; Haskell Armstrong, Margaret McIlvane and Grace Fahnestock, directors. The Society now has one hundred members.

The Perry County Historical Society met on September 12 at the 111-year-old Galum Presbyterian Church south of Pinckneyville. Following a potluck supper on the church lawn, John I. Pyatt, secretary of the church board, gave a brief history of the church. Mrs. Wilma Biby spoke on the first schools in several sections of the county. President J. Wesley Neville told of plans for a historical marker at the site of the old Du Quoin Female Seminary; for the Illinois Ozark Color Tour at Giant City State Park October 7-16; and for the Society's September 25 field trip.

The main stop on the field trip was the 128-year-old Silkwood home-
stead north of Mulkeytown, where the house (now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Scott McGlasson) and garden were toured. Louis Aaron, president of the Saline County Historical Society, spoke to the group on his Society's recent field trip to Golconda. The Reed and Greenwood cemeteries and the Edley Keeling farm were also visited. About 75 members and friends made the tour.

The Society met at the Pinckneyville Junior High School on November 7 and December 5. At the first of these meetings L. A. Dearing of Mt. Vernon presented color slides of southern Illinois; at the second Irvin Peithmann, museum director at Southern Illinois University and authority on Indian lore, gave an illustrated lecture, "Echoes of the Red Man."

Officers of the Randolph County Historical Society, elected at the second annual meeting at Sparta on October 21, are: Kenneth Bradley,

president; Ebers Schweizer, vice-president; Martha Anderson, secretary; P. S. Wilson, treasurer; Howard Cooper, Mrs. Edison Fiene and Henry Thielen, directors. State Historian Harry E. Pratt was the speaker.

The Society toured the Prairie du Rocher area on October 30 with Tom Conner, historian of the village, as guide.

On November 18 Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, spoke to the Society on the excavations in progress at Modoc and the refurnishing of the Pierre Menard Home. The Society voted to affiliate with the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Society met in Chester on December 16. John W. Allen, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on old Christmas customs.

The fall meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held October 25 at Coe Township Consolidated School near Port Byron. The school's P.T.A. served dinner, with the Rev. A. S. Grarup of the Bethel Baptist Church giving the invocation and the Rev. W. W. Marzahn of the Fairfield Methodist Church the benediction. The Silvis Area Council of Mother Singers of Upper Rock Island County, Mrs. Helen Weideman conducting and Mrs. Betty File accompanist, provided the music. Mrs. Weideman also led in community singing.

Mrs. Elsie Hollister Wassell and Mrs. Hazel McConnell Kleist gave a history of Coe Township from its organization and the first settlement 140 years ago. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., director of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke about the State Society's meeting at Galena.

The Rockton Township Historical Society met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Olsen on December 27 and re-elected the following officers: Mrs. Frank Truman, president; Mrs. William Bigelow, vice-president; Mrs. Myron Eddy, secretary; Paul Sprague, treasurer; Armour Titus, Mrs. Mary Graham, Mrs. Olsen and Mr. Truman, directors.

Mrs. Fred Lindsay, vice-president, presided at the Saline County Historical Society meeting on October 4. Program chairman Ray Durham presented Lowell A. Dearing of Mt. Vernon who gave an illustrated talk on the scenic, historic and recreational attractions of southern Illinois. He is very active in publicizing tours of the area.

John W. Allen, newly elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society, addressed the Saline County Society on November 1.

At the December 6 meeting Brose Phillips, John Foster and William Farley reported on plans for a future home for the Society. Mrs. Guyla Moreland of Cairo and Wasson W. Lawrence of Fairfield, guest speakers, told how their respective societies had secured their homes. A social hour followed.

These meetings were all held at the Mitchell-Carnegie Library in Harrisburg.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society met in Cairo October 21. Following a reception at Magnolia Manor dinner was served in the Masonic Temple. Mayor Paul Schuh Baur welcomed the Society to Cairo. Mrs. Evelyn Snyder, librarian of the A. B. Safford Memorial Library of Cairo, described historic homes of the city. Roger Q. Kimmel of Murphysboro spoke on and exhibited "Rare and Unusual Papers and Items." T. Leo Dodd gave a brief talk on the Eldorado development program. The entertainment was furnished by the Jackson Boys of Cairo, Donald and Toddy, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Frank T. Clifford.

Officers of the Society for the coming year are: Louis Aaron, Harrisburg, president; Mrs. L. O. Trigg, Eldorado, vice-president; Mrs. William A. Pitkin, Carbondale, secretary-treasurer; John I. Wright, Carbondale, archivist. Directors are J. L. Buford, Mt. Vernon; Norman W. Caldwell, Carbondale; Mrs. Ila Choisser, Eldorado; Mrs. Charles Jean, Anna; C. C. Kerr, Cave-in-Rock; Roger Q. Kimmel, Murphysboro; T. J. Layman, Benton; Mrs. Guyla Moreland, Cairo; and Mrs. Nannie Gray Parks, Marion.

At the annual meeting of the Stark County Historical Society, held in the Toulon Public Library on September 19, the following officers were re-elected: W. C. Auble, president; Charles M. Wilson, vice-president; Annie Lowman, secretary; Rena Baker, treasurer; Mrs. Mary H. Grieve, Earl O. Turner and Robert O. Webster, directors. Holdover directors are Carl L. Lehman, James M. Armstrong, W. C. Auble, Ednah McClenahan, Annie Lowman, Rena Baker and Eugene H. Nichols.

The Stephenson County Historical Museum observed Constitution Week with a special exhibit September 16-18 and 23-25. Displays of items from six wars were in Exhibition Hall and also in the new Trophy Room recently completed in the basement of the Museum under the direction of Philip L. Keister, former president of the County and State Historical Societies, and Edward Brooks, present president of the County Society. Mrs. Bert S.

Keister of Kent gave the neon lights for the new room. Exhibits loaned by the Museum were also on display in the F. A. Read Company window for these week-ends.

The Museum was open Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, October 6, 8 and 9, for the special benefit of those going to or returning from the Galena meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford was host on August 7 to a group of 74 Boy Scouts from Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark when they visited the city.

The Society held open house in the Erlander Home Museum on October 16 in honor of the eighty-fifth birthday of Miss Mary Erlander, who lived in the house until it was turned over to the Society. T. G. Lindquist has been named the new chairman of the Museum buildings and grounds committee.

Other activities of the Society during the year have included the awarding of scholarships to Augustana College, co-operation with the Scandinavian midsummer festival June 26, weekly Swedish broadcasts during October and November over station WROK, a linen sale October 4 and the annual Lucia Festival and Christmas market December 10. An exhibit of Rockford-made toys and dolls was held at the Museum during December.

C. Henry Bloom, director and vice-president of the Society and former mayor of Rockford, and Fritz Anderson are leaving the city to make their homes in St. Petersburg, Florida, and have donated valuable items to the Museum's collections.

The Vandalia Historical Society held its first three meetings of the 1955-1956 season in the First Presbyterian Church. On September 13 a memorial service for the late Frank Meier opened the program. By-laws were adopted, and Attorney William Floyd Sonnemann showed colored slides which he had taken of wild flowers in Fayette County.

Members of the Vandalia High School Band, Lloyd Higerson, director, presented a musical program at the Society's October 18 meeting. Attorney Joe Dees spoke on the legal profession.

On November 15 the Rev. Roscoe C. Coen, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, spoke on "Religion in the Community." His address was published in the *Vandalia Leader* beginning November 24. The Vandalia High School Glee Club furnished the music.

At the December 18 meeting in the Blue Room of Hotel Evans the Rev. William Henderson told the Christmas story. Mrs. Clem Van Zandt reviewed Irving Stone's *Love Is Eternal*. The P.T.A. Mother Singers gave a Yuletide music program. A memorial for the late Mrs. Lucile Buchanan, a descendant of state printer Robert Blackwell, was presented by Josephine Burtschi. President Joseph C. Burtschi presided at all the meetings.

Members of the Wayne County Historical Society visited three historic sites in the eastern part of the county on October 23. The first was the site of Massilon, a long-extinct town which was on the Little Wabash five miles north of Golden Gate. The remains of a flatboat are still visible in the river. The next stop was at the iron bridge across the Little Wabash two miles south of Golden Gate, whose two main spans were built in 1855. Rudolph Fisher, who has lived in the vicinity all his life, pointed out the site of the old Scott & Pulleybank grist mill which stood near the bridge, the old ford across the river and the location of an Indian village nearby. The last stop was at the site of the Isaac Harris homestead near Merriam. The tour was conducted by the Society's president, Wasson W. Lawrence.

On October 28 the Society met for the first time in the new library building at Fairfield, which the Society was instrumental in bringing to completion. Eldon P. Fleming presented historical facts gathered by him concerning Main Street in Fairfield.

Frank Borah, Sr., spoke on the early history of Massilon Township on November 25. The meeting was open to the public.

E. M. Stotlar described West Marion and Herrin from 1813 to 1885 at the Williamson County Historical Society's quarterly meeting October 2 at the Marion Carnegie Library.

Officers elected for the ensuing year are: Snyder Herrin, president; H. L. Motsinger, Ruth Grant, Helen Roberts and Mrs. Lucile Howell, vice-presidents; Mrs. G. W. Bayles, secretary; and Mrs. Jessie Burkhart, treasurer.

NEW STATE OFFICE BUILDING

Governor and Mrs. William G. Stratton welcomed some eight thousand visitors to the new eight-story, \$11,500,000 Illinois State Office Building at an official open house on Monday evening, December 5. The first legislative act signed by the Governor (March 25, 1953) was

the bill providing for its construction; on February 16, 1954, he officiated at the ground-breaking ceremony and on April 28, 1955 at the laying of the cornerstone.

The new building was constructed by the Department of Public Works and Buildings, Edwin A. Rosenstone, director, under the supervision of Supervising Architect Louis H. Gerding. The Peoria firm of J. Fletcher Lankton and John N. Ziegele Associates designed the building; the W. E. O'Neil Company of Chicago was the general contractor.

The exterior of the first floor is black granite, with the upper floors faced with limestone. The completely air-conditioned interior will accommodate more than 2,100 employees in its 445,000 square feet of floor space. It houses the Office of Public Instruction; the Departments of Conservation, Labor, Mines and Minerals, Public Health, Public Welfare, Public Works and Buildings, and Revenue; the Teachers' College Board, Teachers' Certification Board, Teachers' Retirement System, Illinois Youth Commission, Public Aid Commission, Illinois Commerce Commission, State Employees' Retirement System, Board of Vocational Rehabilitation, Toll Road Commission and Veterans' Commission.

The photograph of the building on the front cover of this *Journal* was taken by William Calvin and Ward Johnson; state photographers.

DOUBLE DEDICATION AT DE KALB

Illinois' newest historical marker—commemorating Joseph F. Glidden, inventor of barbed wire; Jacob Haish, who devised the "S-barb," and Isaac L. Ellwood, prominent barbed wire manufacturer—was unveiled at ceremonies at Northern Illinois State College, DeKalb, on October 6. The marker is to be placed on the Glidden farm. Co-sponsors of the tablet are the Illinois State Historical Society, the DeKalb Chamber of Commerce and the Kiwanis Club of DeKalb.

Walter F. Munford, president of the American Steel and Wire division of the United States Steel Corporation, gave the address. He pointed out that all three men were also prominently connected with the founding of Northern—Glidden donated sixty-four acres for the original campus in 1895, Haish gave \$12,000 to start the library, and Ellwood worked at Springfield to get DeKalb named the site of the new institution. "Ours is a civilization in which industry and education are inseparably bound," said Munford, "and in which both can attain ever greater achievement by working together."

President Arthur Bestor of the Illinois State Historical Society dedicated the marker. It was unveiled by Mrs. John Glidden and Mrs.

Sherman Bonney of DeKalb and Mrs. Harold Wright of La Grange. C. Edward Raymond, president of the DeKalb Chamber of Commerce, introduced Mr. Munford.

At the same ceremonies Neptune Hall, a new women's residence hall on the Northern campus (named for Miss Celine Neptune, former instructor at the college), was dedicated. Lieutenant Governor John W. Chapman made the principal address, introduced by Chauncey Watson, Sr., resident member of the State Teachers College Board. Lewis Walker, president of the board, accepted the building, and Dr. Ruth Haddock, dean of women, responded.

The double ceremony was preceded by a luncheon in the Neptune Hall dining room and followed by a reception for the public in the Hall's recreation room. Three hundred fifty guests were present, and officers of the United States Steel Corporation and Cyclone Fence, members of the State Teachers College Board, the State Historical Society, and the General Assembly from the DeKalb district were specially introduced by President Leslie A. Holmes of the college.

MIDWEST HERITAGE CONFERENCE

The 1956 Midwest Heritage Conference will be held at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 5-7. Illinoisans on the program are: Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University; Arthur E. Bestor, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and John T. Flanagan, University of Illinois; and Sidney E. Mead and Walter Johnson, University of Chicago. Other addresses will be given by John J. Murray and Albert Schmidt, Coe College; John D. Hicks, University of California; Joseph L. Blau, Columbia University; Paul Sharp, University of Wisconsin; Eugene Kingman, director of Omaha's Joslyn Art Museum; and Vaclav Benes, Indiana University. A tour of the nearby Amana Colonies will be made on April 6.

JOHN W. ALLEN HONORED BY EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL

John W. Allen, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was commended by the Educational Council of One Hundred, Inc. for his historical research on southern Illinois and invited to serve as consultant to the Council. The resolution was presented during a Council board meeting at Southern Illinois University on December 13 by Clyde V. Winkler, superintendent of Carbondale grade schools.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SPRING TOUR AT DIXON MAY 18-19

Headquarters: Nachusa House

Tentative plans include:

Friday. Historical workshop, Junior Historian program, Director George A. Pownall and Junior Historians of Washington School; luncheon speakers, Roger Thompson of the *Dixon Telegraph* and President Leland Carlson of Rockford College; afternoon, tour of the Dixon area with tea at Hazelwood estate of Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen; dinner speakers, Governor William G. Stratton and Dr. William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, biographer of Governor Frank O. Lowden.

Saturday. Tour of Grand Detour-Oregon area; Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas speaking at luncheon on her father Lorado Taft; Dr. Stewart Thompson of the University of Minnesota speaking on the history of Ogle County at the Albert F. Madlener, Jr., home on the Lowden estate.

Miss Mollie Duffy, Dixon, general chairman, assisted by Herman G. Nelson, Rockford, and Mrs. Robert Etnyre, Oregon and Mrs. Arthur Beebe, Stillman Valley, representing the Ogle County Historical Society, have been working on arrangements with State Historian Harry E. Pratt. Members will receive details and the complete program at a later date.

